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ILLUSTRATIONS AND PROOFS

OF THE

PRINCIPLE OF POPULATION:

INCLUDING

AN EXAMINATION OF THE

PROPOSED REMEDIES OF MR. MALTHUS,

AND A REPLY TO THE

OBJECTIONS OF MR. GODWIN

AND OTHERS.

27314

By FRANCIS PLACE.

It to this day remains a problem, whether the number of our species can be increased. GODWIN, p. 117

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INTRODUCTION.

THE following work is the result of an examination of MR. GODWIN'S "*Enquiry concerning the power of increase in the numbers of mankind,*" and of MR. MALTHUS'S "*Essay on the Principle of Population.*" In every reply to the "*Essay on Population,*" preceding the present one, which is the *second* from the pen of Mr. Godwin, the principal point in the controversy, the POWER OF INCREASE, has been conceded. In some of these replies, the power to increase has been admitted to be quite as potent as Mr. Malthus has described it, while, in all of them its efficacy is admitted to be sufficient to have peopled the earth to the utmost extent of the means of subsistence; had even the art been discovered to which Mr. Godwin alludes, of providing food by chemical affinities. How the population has been kept down, each writer accounts for in his own way; most of them admit the checks named by Mr. Malthus, and all of them agree with him, even while they appear to dissent from his doctrines; that the population of the earth would have been much

greater than it is, had knowledge been more general, and governments more mild.

Mr. Godwin has embodied in his book the objections of the writers alluded to. He has, also, denied the power of the human race to increase its numbers, has insisted that there is more reason to fear a decrease, than to expect an increase of mankind, has, with his friend and associate, Mr. David Booth, conjectured that the human race is wearing out, and has peremptorily denied that the population in this or any other country presses against the means of subsistence. Mr. Malthus has shown, that in almost all the countries of the earth, the population is constantly pressing against the means of subsistence.

I am not aware that any of the numerous attempts to disprove the "*principle of population*," which preceded this, from the pen of Mr. Godwin, have attracted the particular attention of the public, or weakened the confidence placed in the truth of that principle. It is not so, however, with *Mr. Godwin's Enquiry.* His book has been extolled in Parliament, quoted from with praise in various publications; and represented both by the public press, and by many intelligent persons, as a satisfactory refutation of the principle of population.

Upon reading Mr. Godwin's book, it appeared to be no more a refutation of the work of Mr. Malthus, in relation to the principle of popu-

lation, than any of the works which had preceded it. To me it seemed to be a plausible attempt, utterly destitute of proof. I have, therefore, analysed his arguments, and examined the evidence he has adduced; and if in doing this I have found it necessary to show that his arguments are weak and inconclusive, that his proofs are defective, or make against him, and that the style and tone of his work are such as do no credit to him as a philosopher, I trust, I have avoided, as much as was possible, whatever was calculated to wound his feelings.* The same may be said of Mr. Booth, whom I sincerely respect, and whose dissertation has been freely handled.

In an enquiry of great importance to the community, it is the duty of every man who interferes to endeavour to put the matter in dispute in the clearest light; however he may be obliged to oppose, or to expose the arguments of those from

* I might, indeed, use Mr. Godwin's own words, as he has applied them to the work of Mr. Malthus.—"It has not been the purpose of this work to expose contradictions. Never book afforded greater advantage to an adversary; almost every page would be found, upon a strict enquiry, to contain an answer to the page which went before. But I had higher objects in view. It has been my purpose to assail his theory at the foundation. I have taken the main propositions of his volume; and without troubling myself with the question, how often he has betrayed his cause, and thrown down the fabric he has raised, I have gone straight to the consideration of the truth or error of his principles."

whom he cannot but regret he is compelled to differ.

The principle question discussed is, has mankind a tendency to increase faster than the means of subsistence.

It will be shown, that in the United States of North America, where man is free and wages high, where large tracts of fertile land are yet uncultivated, the power of producing food has exceeded that of producing men, and that this will probably continue to be the case until after all the land has been appropriated and cultivated. In respect to that country, proof will be given of its having repeatedly doubled its population from procreation in periods of less than twenty years.

It will be proved in respect to England, that the population has, for several ages, gone on increasing as fast as the means of subsistence would permit, and that the rate of increase has been very much accelerated during the last seventy years.

In Poland, and in South America, and, indeed, in the whole of Spanish America, the population is very thin in proportion to the extent of land, and its capability of being made to produce every thing useful to mankind. In South America there are many extensive tracts of fertile land, which might support hundreds of persons, for every one who at present inhabits or roams over them. Mr. Godwin thinks the thinness of the population in these countries, is a decisive proof that man-

kind cannot increase by procreation. But he himself furnishes an answer, when he speaks of bad government. 'In those countries, bad government has brutalized the people, or prevented them from emerging from the brutal state, in which state it needs no arguments to prove a dense population cannot exist. Bad government has, in some of these countries, operated to a greater extent, than a barren soil, or a pestilential climate, would have done under better systems of government. The same, with considerable limitation, may be said of Poland. Thus positive institutions, which Mr. Malthus has considered as comparatively trifling evils, will be found among the most serious of the evils to which mankind are subjected. Mr. Malthus has, however, given sufficient reasons for his assertions, that even in these countries, small as is the amount of the population, it continually presses against the means of subsistence, as it must continue to do till better governments be established, and the people become wiser. Mr. Godwin, it will be seen, forbids us to hope for any considerable increase of people, under any circumstances, and yet he has shown in his former writings, that a country to be well governed, and made capable of great intellectual enjoyment, must be well peopled, and has founded his political system upon this circumstance.'

I have not gone through Mr. Godwin's book in the order he has arranged his chapters, but hav-

ing stated the case between him and Mr. Malthus, have gone at once to the principal points in the controversy. Mr. Godwin has built his hypothesis on two fallacies, one of which is, that in order to double the population in twenty years, it is necessary there should be eight children born for every marriageable woman in the community. The other fallacy lies in the evidence which Mr. Godwin thinks the population tables of Sweden afford, when applied to the United States of North America; he has brought to his aid, in support of his opinions, a "*Dissertation on the Ratio's of Increase in Population, and in the Means of Subsistence,*" written by Mr. David Booth. Mr. Godwin's chapters on Sweden, on the United States of North America, and Mr. Booth's dissertation, are treated of in the order here named. The remainder of the volume is occupied with enquiries respecting the dispute relating to the population of Antient States—the means of preventing the numbers of mankind from increasing faster than food is provided for them—the progressive population of England, the accumulation of capital, and its application to the increase of people, particularly in England and Ireland.

The author is perfectly aware, that he has exhibited views, and proposed remedies, which will, with some persons, expose him to censure; but he is also aware of the utility of thus exposing himself. He is fully persuaded of the usefulness of his sugges-

tions, and will not be much affected either by censure, or by the words in which it may be conveyed. He is, he hopes, open to conviction, and prepared to retract any opinion he now entertains upon its being proved erroneous, and to adopt any other which may be shown to be correct.

The work was composed in the early part of the year 1821, and was nearly ready for the press, when Mr. Scarlett introduced to the House of Commons, his "*Bill to amend the Laws relating to the Poor of England.*" The clause in this bill which enacts: "That it shall not be lawful to allow or give any relief whatever, to any person whatsoever, who shall be married after the passing of this act, for himself, herself, or any part of his or her family, unless in case of age, sickness, or bodily infirmity," differs but little from the proposal of Mr. Malthus, to exclude from parish aid all the children born after a certain notice, which has been examined and commented upon in Chapter VI. I have not thought it necessary to make any alteration in the body of the work, on account of Mr. Scarlett's bill; since, what is said on the proposal of Mr. Malthus, will be found to be equally applicable to the bill of Mr. Scarlett. To what is there said, it seems only necessary to add, that Mr. Scarlett's attempt at legislation, in this instance, is in conformity with the notion of petty legislation, which prevails every where, which has been carried to

great excess in this country, without, however, having been found to answer the purposes intended.

The notion so generally prevalent that the remedy for every evil, whether real or imaginary, and the extinction of crime, is to be found in penal acts of Parliament, indiscriminately heaped upon one another, seldom fails, when reduced to practice, to increase both the quantity of evil, and the number of crimes.

We need not travel far for proofs of the folly of this piece-meal mode of legislating. The last session of Parliament furnishes but too many examples, one of which may here suffice. Mr. Scarlett's bill forbids parish officers to relieve the poor, and shuts them out of the workhouse. The New Vagrant Act empowers any single Justice of the Peace, when in his opinion any person brought before him, has committed an act of vagrancy, to commit the person to prison, for any time not less than one month, nor more than three months. Thus, Mr. Scarlett's bill would shut the pauper out of the workhouse, and the Vagrant Act provides for him in the gaol. To persons doomed by the operation of Mr. Scarlett's bill to starvation; the being sent to Bridewell, and there supplied with clean clothes, dry lodging, wholesome food, and moderate labour, would be no great hardship. But while these laws made the poor somewhat

more wretched, and more vicious, than they before were, there would be no saving of expence, since what was saved from the poor rates, by refusing to relieve the poor as paupers, would be expended as county rates, in providing for them as criminals, — probably a much larger sum would be requisite.

The remedy which Mr. Scarlett vainly hopes to find in the legislative measure he has proposed, can alone be found in the instruction of the people, particularly in respect to the principle of population, and in a much more comprehensive and correct system of legislation, than either Mr. Malthus or Mr. Scarlett appear to have contemplated.

February 1, 1822.

CHAPTER I.

STATEMENT OF THE QUESTION CONCERNING POPULATION AS BETWEEN MR. MALTHUS AND MR. GODWIN.—MR. GODWIN'S FIRST REPLY TO THE "ESSAY ON POPULATION."—MR. GODWIN'S SECOND REPLY, THE "ENQUIRY CONCERNING THE POWER OF INCREASE IN THE NUMBERS OF MANKIND."

MR. GODWIN commences "His Enquiry" thus: "It happens to men sometimes, where they had it in their thoughts to set forward and advance some mighty benefit to their fellow-creatures, not merely to fail in giving substance and efficacy to the sentiments that animated them, but also to realize and bring on some injury to the party they proposed to serve. Such is my case, *if the speculations that have now been current for nearly twenty years*, and which had scarcely been heard of before, *are to be henceforth admitted as forming an essential branch of the science of politics.*" Preface, p. i.

In page v., speaking of the attacks that his Enquiry concerning Political Justice produced, he says, "*I hailed the attack of Mr. Malthus. I believed that the Essay on Population, like other erroneous and exaggerated representations of things, would soon find its own level.*"

In the same page, he declares his disappointment. Finding that whatever arguments had been produced against it by others, it still held on its prosperous career, he resolved to put into a permanent form what had occurred to him on the subject. "*I was,*" he says, "*sometimes idle enough to suppose that I had done my part in producing the book that had given occasion to Mr. Malthus's Essay, and that I might safely leave the comparatively easy task, as it seemed, of demolishing the* PRINCIPLE OF POPULATION, to some one of the men who have risen to maturity since I produced my most *considerable performance.*"

In his first chapter he observes that: "Mr. Malthus has published what *he calls an Essay on the Principle of Population, by which he undertakes to annul every thing that had previously been received, respecting the views that it is incumbent upon those who preside over political society to cherish, and the measures that may conduce to the happiness of mankind.* HIS THEORY IS EVIDENTLY FOUNDED UPON NOTHING. HE SAYS that, '*population, when unchecked, goes on doubling itself every twenty-five years, or increases in a geometrical ratio.*' If we ask why we are to believe this, he answers, that, 'in the northern states of America, the population has been found so to double itself for above a century and a half successively:' all this he delivers in an oraculous manner. He neither proves, nor attempts to prove, what he asserts. If Mr. Malthus has taken a right view of the question, it is to be hoped, that some author will hereafter arise,

who will go into the subject, and show that it is so."

These passages are very extraordinary, coming as they do, from the pen of a man, who more than any other that I know of, or than I believe can be found, has so "mainly *supported* the *principle* of Mr. Malthus," as Mr. Godwin himself.

The first edition of Mr. Godwin's "Enquiry concerning Political Justice," was published in Feb. 1793; a second edition was published in 1796, and a third in 1798. In the last of these years, Mr. Malthus published his "Essay on the Principle of Population." In 1801, three years after the publication of his third and last edition, and of Mr. Malthus's Essay, Mr. Godwin published, "Thoughts occasioned by the Perusal of Dr. Parr's Spital Sermon, preached at Christ Church, April 15, 1800; being a *Reply* to the Attacks of Dr. Parr, Mr. Mackintosh, the Author of the Essay on Population, and others." It cannot be said that between the publication of the Essay, and Mr. Godwin's reply, there was not time enough for Mr. Godwin fully to revolve the subject in his mind, and indeed he tells us himself that he did so.

Having replied to Dr. Parr and Mr. Mackintosh, he says, "*I approach the author of the Essay on Population with a sentiment of unfeigned approbation and respect.* The general strain of his argument does the highest honour to the liberality of his mind,—*he has argued just as if he had no end*

in view but the investigation of evidence and the development of truth." p. 55.

"With the most unaffected simplicity of manner, and disdaining every parade of science, he *appears to me to have made as unquestionable an addition to the theory of political economy, as any writer for a century past. The grand propositions and outline of his work will, I believe, be found not less conclusive and certain, than they are new.* For myself, I cannot refuse to take some pride, in so far as by my writings I gave occasion, and furnished an incentive, to the producing so valuable a treatise." p. 56.

"The foundations of the discovery contained in this treatise" (the Essay on Population) "are exceedingly simple. *Every one, whose attention is for a moment called to the subject, will immediately perceive that the principle of multiplication in the human species is without limits; and that,* IF IT TENDS TO ANY INCREASE *in the numbers of mankind, it must have that tendency, independently of any intrinsic causes checking the growth of population, for ever.*" p. 56.

"*The general doctrine of the Essay on Population is so clear, and rests on such* IRRESISTIBLE EVIDENCE, that this circumstance, together with its novel and unexpected tenor, is apt to hurry away the mind, and take from us all power of expostulation and distinction." p. 70.

Mr. Godwin afterwards adverts to the enquiries of Dr. Franklin in America, which he concludes

thus: "Hence it appears that the *progress*" (of population in the United States of North America) "*is in the nature of a* GEOMETRICAL RATIO—or, 2. 4. 8. 16. 32. 64.—DOUBLING ITSELF EVERY TWENTY YEARS." p. 57.

"Having thus ASCERTAINED," (he continues) "*and* FIXED THE PRINCIPLE OF POPULATION, we come next to consider the measures of subsistence. If the latter do not keep pace with, or at least press closely on the footsteps of the former, the most dreadful calamities and disorders must be expected to ensue. To ascertain this point, then, let us suppose, the actual produce of the soil of England precisely capable of feeding its present inhabitants, and let us suppose that the number of those is eight millions. It has already appeared that, in *twenty* years, the principle of population if operating without a check, would cause those inhabitants to double their present number, that is, to be sixteen millions.—Let us imagine, that as the first twenty years, produced additional subsistence for the eight millions of added inhabitants, the next twenty years, shall produce subsistence for eight millions more, and so on in an *arithmetical ratio for ever*. This is an ample allowance; as the soil of England, as well as the surface of the globe is limited and contains only an assignable number of acres. But this conclusion, presents to us in the most striking light, the inadequateness of the principle of subsistence, to meet and to bear up against the principle of population. *Population left to*

itself, would go on in the ratio of 2. 4. 8. 16. 32. 64., and *subsistence, upon a supposition* CERTAINLY *sufficiently favourable, only in the ratio of* 2. 4. 6. 8. 10. 12., for every twenty years successively." p. 57, 58.

Such were Mr. Godwin's opinions three years after the Essay on Population made its appearance. And it is very remarkable that in his new work of 626 pages he should never once have alluded to his former reply. Doubtless Mr. Godwin was at liberty to change his opinions; but he was bound in fairness towards the public, and in candour towards Mr. Malthus, to have stated the reasons which had induced him to decide that it was his duty to hold out Mr. Malthus as the hard-hearted, unfeeling enemy of the human race, after the pains he had taken to represent him as their benefactor.

We have seen, we shall further see as we go along, that Mr. Godwin inculcated with ardour "the principle of population;" and that he devised remedies for the evils which resulted from a too rapid increase of people.

Mr. Godwin may be of opinion that his first reply was all folly, and nothing to the purpose; and that now, when he is better informed, it does not deserve to be noticed: but then he should have said so. Others may have been confirmed in their opinion of the value of Mr. Malthus's work, by Mr. Godwin's clear statements and elucidations. Mr. Godwin was also bound to treat Mr. Malthus, not only with respect, which he has not done, but with something more, after the en-

couragement he had given him to proceed, by clearing and advocating "the principle of population."

Mr. Malthus, in his preface to his first edition of the Essay on Population, published in 1798, informs us, that "it owed its origin to a conversation with a friend on the subject of Mr. Godwin's Essay on Avarice and Profusion, in the Enquirer." Mr. Godwin had previously, in his "Enquiry concerning Political Justice," supposed a state of society might in time exist infinitely more wise and virtuous than the present state of society, in which all would be nearly on a footing of equality, and, as he stated, infinitely more happy. This he again advocated in the essay referred to by Mr. Malthus. To this Mr. Malthus replied, "No; you have not sufficiently considered the principle of population, and its effects: you will be overwhelmed with people pressing against the means of subsistence; and, as this must necessarily produce vice and misery, your theory will never be realized."

The answer to this seemed obvious; and Mr. Malthus might himself have been produced as an evidence for the justness of the theory. If the tendency of population be to increase in a geometrical ratio, and the period of doubling be a short one, it follows, of course, that the mass of the people in an old country must remain in a state of wretchedness, until they are convinced that their welfare depends upon themselves, and that it can be maintained in no other way than by their ceasing to propagate faster than the means of comfort-

able subsistence *are* produced. This appeared to be the very point to which Mr. Godwin's theory led: it is, in fact, the point to which he himself conducted it. In the eighth book of his "Enquiry concerning Political Justice," he discusses, as will be noticed, at the end of the fifth chapter, the necessity for restraining the too rapid increase of population, which he saw was at variance with his theory. The object of his writing was to prove that mankind might and would be happier in proportion as they became wiser. The book was to show them in what particulars they were deficient, and to inculcate the knowledge necessary for their improvement. If, then, there were any truth in Mr. Godwin's theory, Mr. Malthus was answered at once: he had answered himself; for, unless the people did obtain the necessary knowledge, they could never be in the state supposed by Mr. Godwin; and Mr. Malthus, in endeavouring to prevent them from procreating too rapidly, and consequently from deteriorating their condition in the first instance, and putting it out of their power to improve it afterwards, was placing them in a situation to realize Mr. Godwin's theory.

I would not, however, be understood as approving the whole of Mr. Malthus's expedients; neither do I believe that Mr. Malthus would himself, were he not in too great a hurry to witness their effects, and were he not, but too often, disposed to favour the prejudices of the rich. The consequence of this haste and prejudice has been to create ill-will, and to perpetuate animosities.

No effectual check to the progress of population, at all beneficial to the people, can be expected, but by means of increased knowledge; to teach which to the great body of them must be a work of some time, requiring in the teachers great urbanity, great diligence, great patience, and great clearness of statement; and yet, if it were set about in the right spirit, there is no knowing how short the time might be before a visible alteration for the better would become apparent. This was another of Mr. Godwin's points, and to this he should have held fast; and this was also, at one time, Mr. Godwin's opinion. In his first Reply, p. 55., he says, "I had been invited and urged to enter into the discussion of the principles contained in the Essay on Population;" but he adds, "I own I never could persuade myself to see any adequate reason for so doing. It stood out so obvious and glaring to my mind, that the reasonings of the Essay on Population did not bear with any particular stress on my hypothesis; that I thought other men, who had any considerable motive to wish for information, ought to be able to make it out for themselves, without calling upon the original author for assistance."

In his second Reply, Mr. Godwin says, "The *result of an investigation* into the subject of population, *I believe will afford some presumption* that *there is in the constitution of the human species a* POWER, *absolutely speaking, of increasing its numbers.*" This cautious and equivocal manner of treating the subject, leaves the writer at liberty to conclude just what he pleases from it, or to explain it away;

it conveys no distinct idea to the reader. Mr. Godwin goes on: — "Mr. Malthus says, that the POWER is equal to the multiplication of mankind, by a doubling every twenty-five years; that is, to an increase for ever in a geometrical series, of which the exponent is two;—*a multiplication which, it is difficult for human imagination, or (as I should have thought) for human credulity, to follow.*" — Introduction, p. 4. Who that reads this could suppose that the most credulous of human beings was Mr. Godwin himself? Who could have imagined that Mr. Godwin had ever written, and deliberately sent to the press, the passages which have been quoted, or that which follows?

"Let it be recollected, that *I admit the ratios of the author in their full extent, and that I do not attempt, in the slightest degree, to vitiate the great foundations of his theory. My undertaking confines itself to the task of repelling his conclusions.*"

"I admit fully that the *principle of population in the human species, is in its own nature energetic and unlimited*, and *that the safety of the world can no otherwise be maintained, but by a constant and powerful check upon this principle.* — This idea demolishes at once many maxims which have been long and unsuspectedly received into the vulgar code of morality, such as, that it is the first duty of princes to watch for the multiplication of their subjects, and that a man or woman who passes the term of life in a condition of celibacy, is to be considered as having failed to discharge one of the principal obligations, they owe to the com-

munity. On the contrary, it now appears to be rather the man who rears a numerous family, that has in some degree transgressed the consideration he owes to the public welfare. Population is always, as this author observes, in all old settled countries (putting out of our view the *temporary occurrence of extraordinary calamities*, which, however, *may be expected to be rapidly repaired,*) in some degree of excess beyond the means of subsistence; there is *constantly a smaller quantity of provisions, than would be requisite for the comfortable and vigorous support of all the inhabitants.*" p. 61.

It is rather too much, after having been thus instructed by Mr. Godwin himself, to be told we are in a state of fatuity for believing him.

The quotations from Mr. Godwin's first reply, might have been reserved until I came to examine the chapters which treat more particularly of the topics to which they relate; but as Mr. Godwin has made his introduction a kind of summary of his book, has condemned the principle of population, in a few sweeping clauses, and given Mr. Malthus's credulous disciples a castigation for their folly, it appeared to me that this was the proper place for them. The reader will frequently find occasion to refer to them.

In his new work, Mr. Godwin goes on, through many pages, arguing apparently against Mr. Malthus, when, in fact, he is arguing with him. He accuses him of doing what he has not done, and he blames him for not doing what he has done: he picks out a particular passage, or a few words

which in the loose way in which Mr. Malthus has occasionally written, make against him; and he comments on them as if they were conclusions from a series of reasonings.

Thus, Mr. Godwin quotes a passage in the "Essay on Population," against Mr. Malthus, which he had taken from Dr. Paley, in which he observes that, "*the decay of population is the greatest evil that a state can suffer.*" Now this is precisely what Mr. Malthus has taken much pains to inculcate. To prevent this decay, to keep the population up to the highest point, at which the mass of the people can be maintained in comfort, is the very object and end of his essay. Mr. Godwin chooses to understand him in another sense. He proceeds thus:

"Such has been the doctrine," (Paley's) "I believe, of every enlightened politician and legislator, since the world began. But Mr. Malthus has placed this subject in a new light; he thinks that there is a possibility that the globe of earth may, at some time or other, contain more human inhabitants than it can subsist; and he has therefore written a book, the *direct tendency* of which is to keep *down the numbers of mankind.* He has no consideration for the *millions and millions of men* who might be conceived as called into existence, and made joint partakers with us in such happiness as a sublunary existence, with liberty and improvement, might impart; but, for the sake of a future possibility, would *shut against them, once for all, the door of existence.*

"He says, indeed, '*the difficulty, so far from being remote, is imminent and immediate.* At every period doing the progress of cultivation, from the present moment to the time when the whole earth was become like a garden, the distress for want of food, would be constantly pressing on all mankind.' He adds, it is true, in this place, '*if they were equal;*' but these words are plainly unnecessary, since it is *almost the sole purpose of his book to show that, in all old established countries,* '*the population is always pressing hard against the means of subsistence.*' This however, I mean *the distress that must always accompany us in every step of our progress, is so palpably untrue, that I am astonished that any man should have been induced, by the love of paradox, and the desire to divulge something new, to make the assertion.*" p. 16. Perhaps Mr. Godwin's astonishment may cease, when he finds that Mr. Malthus is not the only writer who has propagated the "*palpable untruth,*" and illustrated it, so as to give it the semblance of truth. Hear one of them. He says:

"*In all old settled countries, the measure of population continually trenches on the measure of subsistence,* and the actual quantity of provisions falls somewhat short of what would be necessary for the vigorous and comfortable support of the inhabitants.

"It is therefore well worthy of our attention to enquire, respecting such a country as England, where, according to the majority of political cal-

culation, population has long been at a stand, by what checks it has been kept down within the limits it is found to preserve.

"One of the checks continually operating, is, that great numbers of the children who are born in this country, are half destroyed by neglect and improper food, and that, after pining away a few weeks or a year or two of existence, they perish miserably, without any chance of approaching maturity. The parents, in many classes of the community, scarcely able to maintain themselves in life, if they provide food in sufficient quantity for their children, can at least pay no attention to its being properly adapted to their age or constitution. The married woman, whose only shelter is a hovel or a garret, if she is unfortunate enough to be prolific, is so harrassed by the continual labour which her circumstances require of her, that her penury becomes visible to every spectator, in the meagreness of her shattered frame. She can pay no regularity of attention to the infants she brings into the world. They are dragged about by children a little older than themselves, or thrust into some neglected corner, unable to call or to seek for the supply of their wants. They are bruised, they are maimed, their bodies distorted into horrible deformity, or their internal structure suffering some unseen injury, which renders them miserable while they live, and ordinarily hurries them to an early grave. This is, undoubtedly, a sufficient check upon increasing population."

"Another check upon increasing population, which operates very powerfully and extensively in the country we inhabit, is that sentiment, whether virtue, prudence, or pride, which continually restrains the universality and frequent repetition of the marriage contract." Mr. Godwin proceeds to develope, with a masterly hand, the operation of this check, and he anticipates its operation and its value in an improved state of society. In such a state of society, says he, "It will be impossible for a man to fall into the error on which we are commenting, from inadvertence. *The doctrines of the Essay on Population, if they be true, as* I HAVE NO DOUBT *that they are*, will be fully understood. Society will not fall into clans as at present, nor be puzzled and made intricate, by the complexity of its structure. No man will be able to live, without character and the respect of his neighbours; and no consideration on earth will induce him to forfeit them." — Mr. Godwin's Reply, 1801, pp. 71, 72. 74, 75.

It is really difficult to persuade one's self that the passages quoted were dictated by the same understanding, and penned by the same hand; Mr. Godwin no where tells us he has changed his opinions, but goes on as if they had always been what they are at the present time. He writes a book against himself, in which he freely uses offensive terms against those who may have been persuaded by his writings to have faith in the Principle of Population.

The passage referred to, as quoted from Mr. Malthus's work by Mr. Godwin, wants the head; had that not been cut off, it would have appeared that Mr. Malthus was combating the systems of equality of Wallace and Condorcet, who, like others who advocated systems of equality, invariably represent the difficulties arising from a rapid increase of population, as being at a great and almost immeasurable distance. "Even Mr. Wallace," says Mr. Malthus, "who thought the argument itself of so much weight as to destroy his whole system of equality, did not seem to be aware that any difficulty could arise from this cause, *till the earth had been cultivated like a garden, and was incapable of any further increase of produce.* If this were really the case, and a beautiful system of equality were in other respects practicable, I cannot think that our ardour in the pursuit of such a scheme ought to be damped by the contemplation of so remote a difficulty. An event at such a distance might be left to Providence. But the truth is, that *if the view of the argument* given in this essay be just, the difficulty, so far from being remote, is imminent and immediate. At every period during the progress of cultivation, from the present moment to the time when the whole earth was become like a garden, the distress from want of food would be constantly pressing on *all mankind*, if they were all *equal.* Though the produce of the earth would be increasing every year, population would be in-

creasing much faster, and this superior power must necessarily be checked by the periodical or constant action of moral restraint, vice, or misery."*

Having decapitated the passage, Mr. Godwin also cut off the lower extremities, and then called out, This is the object Mr. Malthus intended to exhibit; when, in truth, the object differs essentially from the part which is exhibited for the whole.

Mr. Godwin affirms, that Mr. Malthus has no consideration for the *millions on millions* of men who might be conceived as called into existence. But if, as Mr. Godwin argues in other places, the power of increase, if it exist at all in the human species, is exceedingly small, and that if war and other atrocious follies of mankind were to cease, it might still be doubted if mankind could increase, and, as he says in his conclusion, that there is more reason to fear a diminution than to expect an increase, there seems to be no reason why he should so pathetically complain of the cruelty of Mr. Malthus, in desiring to prevent the birth, and to deprive of enjoyment the millions on millions, which, according to him, could never be brought into existence.

Mr. Godwin cannot, or will not see, what their being "*equal*" has to do with the question; and yet it seems plain enough. If they were not "*equal*," then, according to Mr. Malthus, the poor would be the sufferers; if they were "*equal*," then all would suffer. Mr. Malthus does not deny that; mankind may go on increasing; he

* Malthus, vol. ii. p. 220. 5th Edition.

repeatedly says they may, and happily too, provided they do not increase faster than the means of subsistence is provided. He does not say the whole earth may not be cultivated like a garden; on the contrary, he expresses his desire that it should be so; but he says, you cannot preserve the beautiful system of equality you have supposed, and go on breeding without restraint; and that, if you attempt it, you will be disappointed. Mr. Malthus, in some parts of his work, speaks doubtfully of the effects of moral restraint and the preventive checks, to keep the population from heading the means of subsistence. In other places, he seems disposed to believe they will some day be found efficient and equal to the purpose. He has, however, taken much pains to inculcate the necessity of resorting to them, in the hope of mitigating the terrible effects of the positive checks, "vice and misery," not for the purpose of keeping down the population, as Mr. Godwin represents, but for the purpose of improving the condition of the mass of the people, and increasing their number, as fast as the means of comfortable subsistence can be provided for them.

CHAP. II.

OF SWEDEN.

ITS POPULATION. — TABLES OF MORTALITY. — POWER OF PROCREATION. — MR. GODWIN'S ASSERTION, THAT SWEDEN ENJOYED SINGULAR ADVANTAGES AS TO POPULATION, EXAMINED AND REFUTED. — COMPARED WITH THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

In Sweden, an account of births, marriages, and deaths, has been taken with more regularity, more accurately, and for a longer period, than in any other country. The censuses of the people have also been more correctly and more frequently taken, and contain many more particulars than the governments of other nations have thought it necessary to require. Mr. Malthus has therefore taken particular notice of the tables which relate to the population of Sweden, for the purpose of supporting his doctrine; and Mr. Godwin has referred to them, for the purpose of showing its unsoundness. Between these two gentlemen, almost every thing that can be said respecting these tables has been said. Mr. Malthus has shown that population increases but slowly in Sweden; Mr. Godwin has done the same. Mr. Malthus has also shown, that the population constantly presses against the means of subsistence in Sweden; Mr. Godwin denies this. In other particulars there is very little difference between them, Mr. Godwin

generally confirming the doctrines of Mr. Malthus, while he gives to his words the appearance of contradicting them. The difference between these two gentlemen, lies in their applications of the Swedish tables to other countries. Of this more will be said, in the chapters on the Population of the United States of America.

It appears from a very laboured analysis of the Swedish population by Mr. Godwin, that not quite one in five of the whole population is a marriageable woman, and that the births are not quite four one-eighth to a marriage. Mr. Godwin infers, that nearly all the women marry at some period of their lives, and that as great a number of children are born in that country as can be born from the same number of people in any country. That the mortality of children under twenty years of age, which, by the "constitution and course of nature," is at the least one out of every two births, may be taken as the mortality of England, France, and the United States of North America. That these conclusions are erroneous, will be shown even with respect to England, and still more so with respect to the United States of North America.

The Swedish tables are defective, inasmuch as they do not notice the ages at which the females are married. Had this been done, it would probably have been found, that a considerable number do not marry at all, that marriages generally do not take place so early as they would do were the climate more genial, the land more fertile, and the government better adapted to promote the

well-being of the people; and, consequently, that there are neither so many children born as might, under other circumstances, be born, nor so many of those which are born, reared. Mr. Godwin has taken much pains to induce his readers to believe the contrary; but it will be seen, when we come to treat of the United States of North America, that not only has he failed in establishing his propositions, but that he has himself adduced proofs which establish the contrary, and fully confirm Mr. Malthus's assertions, of the power in the human species to increase with great rapidity.

The Swedish tables contain a great deal of curious and useful information respecting the population of that country, and one cannot but regret with Mr. Godwin, that we have not as correct accounts of the population of other countries. These tables are, however, useful only in respect to Sweden, and to countries similarly circumstanced, and can only lead us into error, when we apply them to countries very differently circumstanced. Yet Mr. Godwin has so applied them, disregarding the best established principles of political economy; he has rejected evidence which would have led him to correct conclusions, and in his want of knowledge, he has set up to teach what he does not comprehend, and expects unqualified credence to his crude notions.

1. Mr. Malthus has said, "That in no country have the means of subsistence been so abundant, and the manners of the people so pure, that no check whatever has existed to early marriages,

from the difficulty of providing for a family; and that no waste of the human species has been occasioned by vicious customs, by towns, by unhealthy occupations, or too severe labour. Consequently, in no state that we have yet known, has the power of population been left to exert itself with perfect freedom." *

2. That "in the Northern States of America, where the means of subsistence have been much more ample, the manners of the people more pure, and the checks to early marriages fewer, the population has been found to double itself, for above a century and a half successively, in less than 25 years." †

3. And this, he says, "has been repeatedly ascertained to be from procreation only." ‡

It is to prove the impossibility of this increase, and of the power of mankind to increase at a very slow rate, if at all, in any country, and under any circumstances, that Mr. Godwin has bestowed so much labour on the Swedish Tables.

"Sweden §," says Mr. Godwin, "Is a *regio pene toto divisa orbe.* It receives few emigrants, and it sends forth few colonies." This may be granted. Sweden sends forth a considerable number of male emigrants, who spread themselves all over Europe; but it is probable that a large proportion of them return home again. Mr. Godwin says, "In the period to which the accounts relate that I am about to produce (1748 to 1805), this kingdom

* Malthus, vol. i. p. 6.
† Ib. p. 7.
‡ Ib. p. 9.
§ Enquiry, p. 152.

has enjoyed a great portion of internal tranquillity." This is a deceptive way of putting the case; but if it could be truly said of Sweden, it could also be said of the North American States, the internal tranquillity of which has been much less disturbed during the same period, than Sweden. It is true, Sweden has not had to sustain many long continued foreign wars, but those it has engaged in have been very destructive, and it has been miserably plagued, with what Mr. Godwin considers as the most destructive of all causes to the human species — "bad government." Sweden has indeed suffered greatly from this cause, during the whole of the period to which the accounts selected by Mr. Godwin relate. The revolution of 1756, as well as the causes of it, were inimical to the welfare, and, consequently, to the increase of the people. The war which followed that revolution, produced nothing but loss of lives, money, and reputation. In 1762, commenced the misfortunes and miseries occasioned by the two factions of the Hats and Bonnets, each faction receiving support from foreign powers, desirous of the ruin of Sweden. Each faction triumphed in its turn, and the country was torn to pieces; so miserable did the factious aristocracy make the people, and so much did they embarrass all affairs of state, that at length the king resolved to abdicate, in order to obtain a convocation of the Diet, which might, it was hoped, afford some alleviation to the long sufferings of the people. The Diet effected none of the requisite changes,

produced none of the good effects expected; and it has been remarked, that when Adolphus Frederick died in 1771, he was regretted for his goodness and humanity, and pitied by those who had been witnesses to a reign, which the injustice and vexation of a corrupt and mercenary senate had rendered a period of misery to the people, and discomfort to the king. He was succeeded by Gustavus III., who effected a revolution by means of the army, and governed the nation as he pleased, until he was assassinated by Ankerstrom, in 1792. In 1788 he made war upon Russia, exhausting the state, and impoverishing the people. This war was most disastrous, and, during its continuance in the north, the southern provinces were overrun by the Danes.

Gustavus IV. succeeded him, under the regency of his uncle, by whom, and afterwards by the crazy king himself, the government was conducted in a way calculated to do infinite injury to the people.

Well might a French aristocratical writer in 1796 exclaim, "To what a deplorable government has not Sweden been subject for these 50 years!" *

Yet Mr. Godwin assures us, that "*Sweden has possessed almost every imaginable advantage for the increase of its inhabitants, by direct procreation.*" †—And, adverting to the slow rate of increase, he

* Fortia's Travels in Sweden, Mr. Pinkerton's Collection, vol. vi. p. 373. I have not been able to procure a copy of Fortia's Travels in the French Language.

† Enquiry, p. 152.

says, "We have seen that, under *the most favourable circumstances, and such as cannot be expected to continue in any country for any length of time*, the increase is perfectly insignificant." * Mr. Godwin has thus given up his expectation of improvement in the human race; and all those acquirements of which he vaunted, have been, and will continue to be, useless. It might be supposed, did we not know the contrary, that Sweden was a perfect Arcadia. Bad government, extreme ignorance, and, consequently, bad habits among the people; a sterile country, a rigorous climate, frequent dearths, occasional famines, and severe epidemics, gave to Sweden, according to Mr. Godwin, "almost every imaginable advantage for the increase of its inhabitants," placed the population in "the most favourable circumstances," enabled him to compare it with the United States of America, and to conclude, with what reason we shall see presently, that fewer children are born to a marriage in the United States than in Sweden, and that as many of those that are born, die in their nonage in the one country as in the other.

This slight sketch of the political condition of the people of Sweden, contains a refutation of Mr. Godwin's assertion. But the domestic and moral condition of the people, is unhappily still more conclusive against him. Dr. Clarke, in his Travels, observes, that "at Gothenburgh, on the 18th of June, the inhabitants said, they had experienced but

* Enquiry, p. 369.

fifteen days of summer, the ice having thawed on the 3d only, and that in Sweden there is no spring." * "The winter had," to be sure, "been uncommonly severe, and of more than usual duration. This had caused a general dearth of provisions, both among men and cattle. Many of the houses and barns had been unroofed, the thatch having been torn off to supply fodder. As we travelled from Sjord, across the country to Tang, the bones of famished cattle, which had perished during the winter, were every where visible; and we heard dreadful accounts of the sufferings the late scarcity had occasioned."

"We examined the interior of *many* of the cottages of the poor; but in this part of Sweden (south of Stockholm,) we *never* had the satisfaction to observe any thing like comfort or cleanliness. In these respects, they certainly are inferior to the Danes. A close and filthy room, crowded with pale, swarthy, wretched-looking children, sprawling upon a dirty floor, in the midst of the most powerful stench, were the usual objects that presented themselves to our notice." † Yet this is the country Mr. Godwin thinks possesses almost every imaginable advantage for the rearing of children.

"At Orebo, a considerable town, on the market-day, the only provisions for sale, were, butter, dried fish, eels, and perch; *there was not a joint of meat to be seen.*" ‡

* Clarke's Travels, vol. v. 4to. p. 107. † Ib. 109.
‡ Ib. p. 141.

"The diet is principally salted fish, eggs, and milk. We rarely saw butcher's meat, during this or any subsequent part of our journey," * although it lasted till October. Eggs and milk, it must be concluded, are not to be had but in small quantities, during the long and severe winters in Sweden. Dr. Clarke, it must be remembered, was received by the better sort of people, and had the means of commanding the best of accommodation and entertainment. If, then, the persons with whom he associated, were thus scantily supplied, what must have been the condition of the mass of the people? The Doctor tells us, that "bread, and brandy flavoured with anniseed, are the two most important articles of diet of the people." † "Bread is baked in the greater part of Sweden, only twice in the year, in many other parts of the country only once; it is made, for the most part, of *rye flour*, seasoned with anniseed; it is made in the form of biscuits spitted upon rods, and hung up over the heads of the inhabitants." ‡

"Misne bread is mentioned as being still eaten by some of the people in the northern parts, and by others, in seasons of scarcity. It is made of the rind of the pine and fir, *sometimes* mixed with the meal of wild oats." § And further on, our traveller "recommends the people to eat the rein-deer moss, or Lichen Mangiferinus, which may in many places be obtained by removing the snow." ‖

* Clarke's Travels, vol. v. p. 140. † Ib. p. 110.
‡ Ib. p. 201. § Ib. p. 283. ‖ Ib. p. 556.

There are no other substitutes to which the people can resort, and they have not the means of purchasing grain, to supply the deficiency of bad seasons from foreign countries.

"Potatoes are not common, and garden vegetables are seldom seen." *

In by far the greater part of Sweden, the farmers are obliged to cut the grain in an unripe state. North of Stockholm, this is always done; "every dwelling has by the side of it a *lofty ensign of the climate*, in a high conspicuous rack, for drying the unripened corn. These machines make a great figure; sometimes there are, 2, 3, or 4, of them to one dwelling, which are seen at a distance, and announce to the traveller the proportion of arable land in the occupation of the landholder, whose dwelling he approaches." †

Mr. Malthus, who was a fellow-traveller with Dr. Clarke, speaks of the same year, 1799, as a very fatal one. "In July, about a month before the harvest, a considerable portion of the people *was* living upon *bread, made of the inner bark of the fir, and of dried sorrel, absolutely without any mixture of meal*, to make it more palatable and nourishing. *The sallow looks and melancholy countenances of the peasants, betrayed the unwholesomeness of their nourishment; many had died*, but the full effects of such a diet had not then been felt. They would probably appear afterwards, in the form of some epidemic sickness." ‡

* Clarke's Travels, vol. v. p. 580. † Ib. p. 201.
‡ Malthus, vol. i. p. 409.

"The years 1757, 1758. 1768. 1771, 1772, 1773, are, on good authority, stated as particularly mortal. The year 1789 must have been very highly so: it materially affected the proportion of births to deaths, for the twenty years ending 1795." *

"Both men and women, north of Stockholm," says Dr. Clarke, "go barefooted, maintaining, and, perhaps, with reason, that it is much better to do so, than to wear the wooden shoes which are used in the *south* of *Sweden*, which *always* cause excrescences upon the feet, and *often* lame those who use them." †

The general use of spirituous liquors, and its bad consequences, have been noticed by every traveller. M. Fortia, who travelled over a large portion of Sweden in 1791, observes, that this lamentable habit begins in infancy, and may be regarded as *one of the causes of the depopulation of Sweden*. We have seen (he says) children, nine or ten years of age, drink such large glasses of brandy, as we ourselves never could compass. The habit of drinking, far from being peculiar to the common people, prevails among the higher classes."‡ After speaking of the climate and seasons, he adds, "The frequent use of brandy, which we have before noticed, is another cause of diminishing the number of its inhabitants, from the great number of victims who die before they reach maturity, or who, if they live, remain, in consequence, *unfit for procreation*." §

* Malthus, vol. i. p. 408. ‡ Clarke's Travels, vol. v. p. 202.
† Fortia in Pinkerton, vol. vi. p. 520. § Ib. 523.

The peasants distil the grain for their own use; and an attempt to prevent the practice, in a time of scarcity, caused an insurrection.

M. Fortia says, "There is no dearth of libertinism in the great towns; there it begins sometimes earlier than at twelve years of age, and is carried to excess till eighteen or twenty. The young folks then become prudent, that is to say, confine themselves to one lover, *and after some years marry*, commonly to great advantage; the men not regarding in the least their former way of life." *

Mr. Williams, who travelled for five years in the north of Europe, for the purpose of collecting information respecting the constitutions, laws, and customs, of the several nations, who had, as he informs us, access to the houses of the most considerable people, to the collections of the curious, and the archives of the state, has collected a great many particulars respecting Sweden, which deserve attention; some few of them, from his chapter on Manners and Customs, and that on the Laws, shall be briefly noticed. †

"The nobility alone," he says, "amount to 10,900, so that about the 214th part ‡ of the nation are privileged to live on the labours of the others.

* Fortia, 520.

† Vide "The Rise, Progress, and present State of the Northern Governments, viz. the United Provinces, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Poland," &c. by J. Williams, Esq. Printed for T. Becket, London, 1777, in two Vols. 4to.

‡ The British aristocracy does not comprise the 2014th part of the people.

They have adopted much of the French manners and customs, but the smallness of their fortunes, and the laws of the country, prevent them from wearing rich apparel. They never *descend* to any employment, in the church, or to the practice of the law or physic, or to the exercise of any trade: there is scarcely an example known, of a gentleman who has accepted the command of a Swedish merchant ship. They are too proud to cultivate and improve their lands, and the generality of farmers are so poor, and their *lands so fettered*, by the policy of the government, that they are not capable of cultivating them. They are precluded from all the rights and privileges which the nobility enjoy, and in many instances, are denied the natural rights of mankind. Although agriculture has always been esteemed the surest basis of the riches and power of a state, it is in this kingdom deprived of its necessary supply of workmen, burthened with the heaviest taxes, and with the entire charge of recruiting both soldiers and sailors. By the nearest calculation, one in six of the adult cultivators must serve in the army; that is, every five of the farmers must provide a sixth for the army and navy, from which the nobility and all the other orders of the state are exempt.

"It is no small part of the policy of this government, to keep the farmers or peasants, in a poor and distressed state. Every farmer is prohibited by law, to purchase any of the free estates of the kingdom, or to keep more than one servant to assist him in the cultivation of the land, if he have

ever so great an estate to cultivate and improve; he is, moreover, forbidden to make a division of his farm, and thereby to multiply the number of labourers; and whoever attempts to cultivate small parcels of land, are declared every year from the pulpits to be vagabonds, and are forced into the military service, from which they can never be released, except they are maimed or disabled. There are no magazines, nor is one province allowed to send its produce to another; so that one part of the kingdom may be in great want, and another part have a superfluity.

"The farmers, and particularly those who cultivate the crown lands, have the titles and possession of these lands frequently disputed upon the most frivolous pretences, and often in the most unjust manner taken away from the cultivator, by those who have no just pretension whatever, and the poor farmer finds himself deprived of the property of the houses he has built, and of the land he has cultivated; and his wife and family deprived of a place of abode, and even of subsistence.

"Most of the farmers live in a poor condition, and are taught, by necessity, to practise several arts in a rude manner, in making instruments of husbandry and other necessaries, which they cannot afford to buy; and, to keep them to this, and to favour the cities, it is not permitted to have more than one tailor, or other such artizan in the same parish, though it be ever so large; and many of the parishes are fifteen to twenty miles in circumference.

"The different branches of trade, as well as every other thing relating to merchandize; are monopolized; only a fixed number of any sort of artizan and tradesmen is allowed in any town, so that when a young man has served his apprenticeship, he cannot exercise his trade till he has served another term of years as a journeyman, and then not till there be a vacancy by the death of one of the masters. The workmen are bad, and there is but little improvement in their manufactories."

"The condition of the women is very lamentable. There is no part of the world, where the women, among the lower classes, are made greater drudges than in Sweden; for, besides the ordinary offices of their sex, they are put to plough, to thresh, to row in boats, to bear burthens at the building of houses, and on other occasions, and often they are employed as postillions."

"The administration of the law is described as unjust in the extreme; the lawyers and judges as poor, and constantly open to be bribed; so that unless a man be rich, he has no chance whatever of having justice done him."

If, with all these disadvantages, Sweden could increase its population, as Mr. Godwin admits it did, what reasonable man can doubt, that, in a country where few of these disadvantages prevailed, the rate of increase would be much more rapid; and such a country is the United States of North America.

In no part of these States is the winter either so severe, or of so long continuance, as in the

most southern parts of Sweden. The soil is generally very superior, in many places it is very fertile, while the government is of all others by far the best, in relation to the increase of the population. There are some unhealthy spots, such as New Orleans, and the swamps in the more southern states on the Atlantic; but, generally, it is a healthy country. Among others, a recent traveller,* who appears to be an observing plain matter-of-fact man, having no hypothesis to support, has stated a number of circumstances from which no other inference can be drawn.

Yet Mr. Godwin puts this country far behind Sweden, in every respect, in regard to its population; with how much justice will be seen in the following chapters.

* See Palmer's Travels.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTION. — QUESTION STATED. — INCREASE OF PEOPLE FROM PROCREATION, COMPARED WITH SWEDEN. — EMIGRATION FROM EUROPE TO THE UNITED STATES. — FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. — PARLIAMENTARY RETURNS. — DR. SEYBERT'S STATISTICAL ANNALS OF THE UNITED STATES. — AMERICAN IMMIGRATION ACT. — NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS. — BRITISH LAWS RESPECTING PASSENGERS TO FOREIGN STATES. — NUMBER OF SHIPS, TONS, AND PASSENGERS TO THE UNITED STATES, 1811 TO 1821. — DESERTERS FROM THE BRITISH ARMIES IN AMERICA. — PROBABLE NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS DURING THE LAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS.

THE United States of North America constitute the only nation of which we have any knowledge, whose population has been repeatedly doubled, in very short periods, by means of procreation. The proofs are numerous, clear, and conclusive.

Mr. Godwin hailed the statement of this increase as an unquestionable and highly important addition to our knowledge; but he now says, in a tone of derision, "If America had never been discovered, we should never have heard of the geometrical ratio." Mr. Godwin might have objected to the discoveries of Newton on the same

ground, and given as a reason, that, had the apple never fallen, Newton would never have studied the subject of gravitation; or have maintained, in contradiction to his own most laboured writings, and the opinions of all philosophers, that effects may be produced without causes. If it be true, however, that the power of increase in the human species, is equal to a doubling of the whole population of a nation, in periods of twenty-five years or less, not only will the geometrical ratio of Mr. Malthus be proved, but the tendency of mankind to increase faster than the means of subsistence can be provided, will also be proved; and it will follow of course, that poverty, vice, and misery, will abound in every country in which the population does so increase, and that it will constantly press against the means of subsistence.

It has been already observed, that every writer on the subject of population, has admitted the power in the human species to increase their numbers. Mr. Godwin, however, doubts the existence of such a power; he says, "It remains to this day a problem whether the numbers of our species can be increased,"* Dr. Price, whom Mr. Godwin holds up to the terror of those who admit the principle of population, supposed the power to increase the number of mankind to be much more efficacious than Mr. Malthus has stated it to be in the United States of North America. There appears to be no reason why Mr. Malthus should be taunted or reproached, or his doctrine

* Reply, p. 115.

now held up to ridicule more than in 1801, when Mr. Godwin lauded his discovery, and rested his praise on the very same ground, then, that he does his censure now.

Mr. Godwin has divided his subject into books and chapters; his fourth book treats of the United States of North America. It commences by his observing that, "In the second book of this work, I have shown the *absolute impossibility*, so far as all the tables that have yet been formed respecting the multiplication of mankind can be relied on, that the increased population of the United States of North America, "a doubling," according to Mr. Malthus, "for above a century and a half successively, in less than twenty-five years," could have been *produced by the principle of "population."* We have seen (he says, alluding to Sweden) that "*under the most favourable circumstances*," and *such as cannot be expected to continue in any country for any length of time*, the *increase is perfectly insignificant, compared with the monstrous propositions* of Mr. Malthus,—and that *from the constitution of human nature, it must necessarily be so.* Here, then, I might have closed my argument respecting the principal topic of the present treatise. I might have rested my appeal with every *strict* and *impartial* reasoner, *whether* the phenomenon of *the increased numbers of the people of the United States, must not be accounted for in some other way*, and *not from procreation.* But I know that many readers, and many persons *calling themselves* reasoners, are

neither strict nor impartial. And I would willingly consent to depart a *little* from the rigid forms of logical deduction, if, by so doing, I can the more fully satisfy such as these." *

Here are several matters deserving notice, 1. That it is absolutely impossible, according to certain tables, that the population in America should, for a century and a half, have doubled in twenty-five years successively from procreation. 2. That the reason for this inference, is, that it was not so in Sweden, under *the most favourable circumstances.* 3. That these circumstances, such as they were in Sweden, cannot be expected to exist in any country for any length of time. 4. That by the constitution and course of nature, there can be none but a *perfectly insignificant increase of mankind.* That Sweden, during the latter half of the last century, or indeed in any period with its barren lands, its severe climate, its despotic government, its *poverty*, its destructive mines, its ignorant people, should have been the very best country in the world to breed the largest number of persons, is a proposition which it is presumed very few, "strict and impartial reasoners," will admit; but that Mr. Godwin, of all men, should affirm, that, taken as a whole, Sweden, during this period, presented so very many favourable circumstances, as to warrant him in saying, in the face of the doctrines he has all his life long been teaching, that "they cannot be expected to continue in any country, for any length of time," is very

* Reply, p. 368.

strange indeed. It seems as if Mr. Godwin's new hypothesis, *the want of power in the human species to increase their number*, had totally eradicated his old hypothesis of the perpetual tendency of mankind towards perfection.

I however shall not give up this doctrine quite so easily. It was Mr. Godwin who first led me to the contemplation of the progress of human intellect in its march towards happiness, and I am neither to be made to doubt of the improved state of mankind, at the present moment, compared with former periods, nor of the still higher state at which they will arrive. What Mr. Godwin means by the "constitution of nature forbidding an increase which is not insignificant," is, that half the born are inevitably doomed by that "occult cause," which he has here named "*nature*," never to arrive at the age of manhood, than which nothing can be well more absurd; here again, too, Mr. Godwin has abandoned, and contradicted his former good teaching, and would fain persuade us, that all our knowledge, present or future, will never enable us to prevent the premature and unnecessary death of half the human species, at that time of their lives, when, of all others, there is surely the least reason, "according to the constitution of nature," that they should die: the reasonings and tables in Book II. of Mr. Godwin's work, so far from being conclusive against the power of procreation, have very little, if any relation to the question. Showing what Sweden did, and inferring some matters relating

to America, and asserting that the "most favourable circumstances for increasing mankind existed in Sweden, are any thing but proofs of the want of power to increase by procreation, under any circumstances. It will, however, be fully proved, that the United States of America enjoy many more favourable circumstances than Sweden, both for the production of children, and for the rearing them when produced, and, that *the population has doubled for a considerable space of time from "procreation only," in less than twenty-five years*, and is still doubling at the same rate.

It seems strange, that Mr. Godwin should call what he has said in his "second book, rigid logical demonstration," as showing the want of power in the human species to increase, and to assert, that here he might have closed his argument triumphantly. Surely this is dogmatizing with a high hand.

"I protest," he says, "against *any* imperfectness in the present division of my treatise, as having the effect of vitiating the reasonings of the divisions immediately proceeding."*

If this protest mean any thing, it means, I protest that the reader shall take what I have said as "rigid logical deductions," and "if I shall not be able to make out, to demonstration, the precise sources of the increase of population in the United States, I shall at least show, in what follows, that it is *impossible that the source should be found in the principle of procreation;*" that is,

* Reply, p. 370.

if I cannot show that the increase has been from emigration, still I protest that you must believe it has, whether it be so in fact or not, or whether it be possible or impossible. You must not disbelieve, or attempt to disprove my conjectures, for, after all, to this conclusion you must come, "*that it could not have been from procreation.*"

This, to be sure, does not seem much like "strict logical deduction," or philosophy. If it should appear from indisputable evidence, that not a twentieth part of the number of persons has emigrated to the United States, which Mr. Godwin has found to be necessary to account for the population, all his assertions and protests will go for nothing; and however impossible the increase by procreation may appear to him, still, to that, and to that only, must it be referred.

Mr. Godwin deprecates all attempts to show that the United States have increased by procreation, because, he says, it is not an inaccessible island like Japan. He denies the possibility of proof, thus: "Well, then, there can be no proof that the increasing number of the inhabitants of the United States came from procreation only." * If, however, it be *proved*, that the people did not come by emigration, it will be difficult to find how they could come but by procreation.

Mr. Godwin, speaking of the United States, says, "Without imputing to them any vicious ambition, they might, from mere virtue and benevolence of soul, wish to see *the vast tracts*, above, below, and around them on every side, *adorned*

* Reply, p. 171.

with a healthy, an industrious, a civilized, and a happy race of people. Their government is free, their institutions are liberal, and what they most obviously want, is greater multitudes of men to partake these *blessings.* They are not converts to Mr. Malthus's philosophy; or, at least, not such converts, as to be disposed to make it their rule of action, for the territory over which they (the government) preside. They are not exactly prepared, to trust for the future population of their domain to procreation only."

"Long has the coast of North America been looked to by the discontented, the unhappy, and the destitute of every kingdom in Europe, as the land of promise, the last retreat of independence, the happy soil on which they might dwell and be at peace. How could it be otherwise? Here every man, without let or molestation, may worship God according to his conscience. Here there are *no legal inflictions of torture, no bastiles and dungeons,* NO SANGUINARY LAWS. HERE LAND, BY HUNDREDS AND THOUSANDS OF ACRES, *may be had almost for* NOTHING. *Here the* WAGES OF LABOUR ARE HIGH." *

Here is an enumeration of circumstances all conducive to happiness, scarcely one of which is enjoyed by Sweden. Here are reasons for the prevalence of good moral habits, such as can be exhibited no where else. Here are inducements to every girl to get a husband, and to every young man to take a wife, which no old country can offer. Here is the proof, that a family of children is to the working man his greatest blessing; while

* Reply, p. 375.

in Sweden, as in other old countries, it is but too frequently his greatest curse. How strange it seems, that after Mr. Godwin has declared Sweden to possess "the MOST *favourable circumstances*" to increase its population, he should immediately exhibit so many "circumstances" in the very country he was depreciating, all of them of extreme efficacy, all of them infinitely more favourable than "the *most* favourable!" How strangely does the ignis fatuus of an hypothesis lead astray the most acute minds!

Mr. Godwin labours through many pages, quoting the rhodomontade of Dr. Johnson on emigration; and in endeavouring to enlist the feelings of his readers, in the hope of leading them to concur in the Doctor's assertions, of the "fever of emigration, the prodigious numbers that shipped themselves for America from 1776, the period of the declaration of independence, to the breaking out of the French Revolution in 1789. But this last was the event, that, if we trace its consequences through all its ramifications, may emphatically be said to have broken down the dykes which held in the population of Europe, and poured out the streams of its *real*, or its imaginary superfluity, to fructify the immeasurable plains of the Western World."*

Those sweeping and overwhelming passages must be received with great caution; our understandings must not be carried away by the flood. Speaking of the United States prior to 1775, Mr.

* Reply, p. 397

Godwin says, "Hitherto it had been a fashion with many to regard our American colonies with scorn, on account of those convicted of crimes here being sent thither; it was the declaration of independence which changed the scene in the Western World, and gave a *new* and a powerful impulse to the tide of emigration,"* This is most true, and most consolitary. But we must not reckon on any very large number of persons emigrating to America, for some years after the declaration of independence. The discontent and troubles which existed, and had continually increased, for several years immediately preceding that declaration, the "scorn" mentioned by Mr. Godwin, and also the war with this country, which was only terminated by the treaty signed on the 3d September 1783, almost wholly prevented emigration. Many more persons were lost to the United States, in consequence of their joining the English standard, or by being killed in the war, by their removal to Canada, where provision was made for them, by their removal to Europe, and to other parts of the world, than were gained by emigration during the eight or nine years of the war, from its first breaking out to the ratification of the treaty of peace. It is only since that time, that we are authorised to talk of any considerable *annual* emigration to America. No very great number of persons settled in America, in consequence of the French revolution. The period between the breaking

* Reply, p. 394.

out of that revolution and the war between England and France, was but a short one, and it put an end to emigration from France. From the commencement of that war in 1793, to its final conclusion in 1814, very few persons passed from any part of the continent of Europe to the United States of North America. Almost the whole of her emigrants were from the British Islands. The reader is requested to bear these circumstances in mind, while perusing the following pages.

Mr. Godwin has cautioned his readers in the outset, against believing that the United States of America could have any but the most insignificant increase of people from procreation, and in other places he peremptorily denies there could be any increase at all, except from emigration. "*America,*" he says, "*does not from procreation only keep up its numbers;*" he has, therefore, set down 70,325, as the amount of the annual emigration from 1749 to 1790, notwithstanding the reason he has given, why previous to 1775 there could be no very considerable emigration; and notwithstanding he had read in Dr. Price's book, which he quotes with apparent satisfaction, that during a portion of this time more came from the United States than went to them; and notwithstanding the war, which continued for more than eight years, wholly prevented emigration during that period. It may then be fairly concluded, that no considerable annual emigration took place until 1784 at the soonest.

Mr. Godwin states the population of the United States thus:

" 1. As it was estimated in 1749 1,046,000
2. The census in 1790 3,929,326
3. The census in 1810, *omitting, for the sake of perspicuity, that of* 1800 ..... 7,239,903." *

How omitting the census of 1800, was to make either the statement, or the observations on it more perspicuous, does not appear; but it makes, as will appear, a very material difference in the amount of the emigrants, who are by Mr. Godwin asserted to have gone to America annually, from 1800 to 1810.

Mr. Godwin is willing to take the present population of the United Sates at 10,000,000. It is expected that, by the census now taking, it will be found to exceed that number; but taking it, as Mr. Godwin has done, at 10,000,000, upon the hypothesis that nothing worthy the name of a settlement was made before 1610, the *annual* increase of people will be,

From 1610 to 1749 6,973
1749 ... 1790 70,325
1790 ... 1810 165,527

If, however, we take in the census of 1800, as we ought to do, the annual increase to 1821, will be as follows:

From 1610 to 1749 6,973
1749 ... 1790 70,325
1790 ... 1800 138,042
1800 ... 1810 193,014
1810 ... 1820 276,809

Mr. Godwin is too accurate an observer, not to have seen all the consequences which would follow

* Reply, p. 401, 402.

from his retaining the census of 1800, and therefore he rejected it. To have asserted that 193,014 persons actually *arrived every year, and remained as settlers* in the United States from 1800 to 1810, and that 276,809 *arrived annually and remained* from 1810 to 1820, would have been too large a draft to draw even on credulity itself, and the average was therefore made to run back as far as 1790, including a period of 20 years, although there had been an actual enumeration of the people in 1800, and totally excluding the period since 1810. Mr. Godwin seems to have got angry with this part of his subject; he says, "We should proceed very idly in our examination of this question, if we did not admit that *there is considerable difficulty*. It was this difficulty that gave birth to the *vain boasts* of Dr. Franklin and Dr. Styles, and to the *atrocious* and *heart-appalling* theories of Mr. Malthus." *

Mr. Godwin endeavours to give a plausible appearance to his statement of emigration, defective as he has made it: 1. By taking the whole period from 1790 to 1810, from which to calculate the annual average: 2. From not having brought it down to 1820: 3. By deterring the reader from a too close examination of his statement, by pretending difficulty where there is none, and by his abuse of Dr. Franklin, Dr. Styles, and Mr. Malthus. "There is," he says, "*no choice* in the solution of the question, but either to refer it to an inherent, rapid, and incessant *power* in the human species,

* Reply, p. 402.

to *multiply its numbers*," which, he says, he has proved "to be impossible, or to emigration."—"The *present* population, with *one exception, must* have arisen from a *direct transportation* of the inhabitants of the Old World to the New."

"What are 10,000,000 of human creatures to the population of Europe, which is computed to contain 153,000,000 of souls? 10,000,000 of these might be taken away, and never missed."*

This is all very unsatisfactory, and very sophistical. All Europe is made to be contributory, and yet by far the greater part can scarcely be said to have supplied an emigrant. Russia has sent none. Sweden and Denmark, very few. Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, and Turkey, none, perhaps. Prussia, and the north of Germany, no great number; Switzerland and France, not many; Spain and Portugal, none; Holland, a few only. Nine-tenths have probably gone from England, Scotland, and Ireland. Mr. Godwin's attempt to bolster up his absurd account of the number of emigrants, and his endeavours to give it an air of probability, ought to have no weight whatever with any "diligent enquirer."

Another argument, not a bit better, is built up from the "Tonnage of shipping cleared outwards, from 1663 to 1818. At the first period, it was 142,000 tons, at the latter, 3,074,409 tons;" but this loose way of stating possibilities, adds nothing to our information, and it could hardly have been intended for that purpose. "Transportation," as

* Reply, p. 403.

emigration is now called, to the country, Mr. Godwin has truly described as the most desirable in the world for the mass of the population, is reprobated as "*one of the blessings*" immediately growing out of Mr. Malthus's theory." * But Mr. Godwin is himself a better evidence than Mr. Malthus, that, notwithstanding what he here says in contradiction to what he had said just before, "*Transportation*" to the United States of North America, is a real blessing.

An account is given of a scheme of a Mr. John Campbell, in 1815, to induce the Scotch to remove to Canada, which has very little to do with emigration to the United States. Niles's Weekly Register, published at Baltimore, is then put in requisition, and an extract is taken from one of its numbers, in which it is asserted, that "within the two last weeks ending the 15th August 1817, 26 vessels brought to the several ports of the United States,

From Amsterdam, Germans and Swiss	1896
England, Scotland, and Ireland	281
The same, through Nova Scotia and Newfoundland	238
France	97
Total	2512

"Aug. 30. 1817. Within the two weeks ending yesterday, in 21 vessels,

From England, Ireland, and Scotland	557
Holland, Germans and Swiss	365
France	25
Total	947 †

* Reply, p. 409.

† Ib. p. 411.

"Of these 171 reached the United States, *via* Halifax, though great inducements are held out to settlers there. As, for instance, a Dutch ship which arrived at Philadelphia, put into that port for provisions, when the government offered to the passengers 10,000 acres of land *gratis* in fee simple, and farming utensils, if they would stay there; but they refused. Many settlers, as they are called, arrive in Canada, from whence hundreds of them pass up the river, &c. and cross into New York and Ohio. It seems to be discovered, that it is more convenient to reach our country through the British Colonies, than to come on direct. Facilities are afforded for the former, which are denied to the latter." *

Then comes an account of a ship from London, with settlers going to Canada, who rose upon the crew and carried her into Boston.

Mr. Godwin again quotes "Niles's Register, 12th September, 1818," thus: "*The current of emigration from the* BRITISH DOMINIONS, *to the territory of the United States, never was so strong as it is now.* For the week ending the 31st August, 2150 passengers, nearly the whole of whom were emigrants from Europe, arrived at the single port of New York, and for the subsequent week we kept an account of the passengers *reported in the newspapers* (which is far short of the number that arrived), and found them to amount to *nearly* 3000, *for five or six principal ports*, and the aggregate may be fairly estimated at 6000, for the two weeks preceding the 6th September. Of the 6000,

* Reply, p. 412.

there were from England about 4000; from Ireland, 1000; from Scotland, Holland, and France, 1000; total, 6000: about a hundred only from France." *

Having done with Mr. Niles and his Register, Mr. Cobbett and his Register is next taken up. In his "Register," August 14, 1819, in a letter by that gentleman, dated Long Island, in the State of New York, is the following assertion: "*Within the last twelve months*, UPWARDS OF 150,000 HAVE LANDED FROM ENGLAND, *to settle here.*"

Mr. Godwin makes these statements, in order "*strikingly to illustrate the* FACT, *of the vast number of emigrants* from Europe, that may be conveyed across the Atlantic." †

Not one of these statements deserves the least credence. Niles wrote his accounts at random, from such common rumours as our own newspapers often do, where, in respect to numbers, hundreds are multiplied into thousands.

During the years 1816, 1817, and 1818, a hot dispute was going on respecting emigration to America. It was maintained by writers here, that America was overstocked with emigrants, and it was to counteract these statements, as well as to extol their own country, that some of the American journalists, Niles among them, magnified both the numbers that arrived, and the advantages they met with. The stagnation of business

* Reply, p. 113. † Ib. 111.

which followed, put an end to the dispute. It was then asserted, in an authoritative manner in the newspapers, that our consuls in the different sea-ports of the United States, had, by the direction of our ambassador, shipped several thousands of British emigrants, who were unable to provide for themselves, for Canada. A New York paper, in July, 1819, said, there were then upwards of 5000 workmen in that city, for whom no sort of employment could be found, and it recommended them to remove into the Western States, where labourers were much wanted.

Mr. Cobbett, in his Register, written in Long Island, notices these circumstances, and in his "Year's Residence in America," he observes: "But some go back after they come to America, and the consul at New York, has thousands of applications from men who want to go to Canada, and little bands of them go off to that fine country very often." * It is very probable that Canada received more emigrants from the United States, than it furnished; and there is no good reason for believing, that Canada ever supplied any very great number.

The passage quoted by Mr. Godwin from Cobbett's Register, is taken from a letter addressed to several persons here, who were detained in prison for imputed political offences, during the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. He is showing the effects of the system pursued by ministers, and

* Reply, p. 384.

among them, that of driving the people out of the country. He takes up the round number 150,000, probably as an approximation from what he had seen in the American newspapers; but be this as it may, it was not possible for one-third of the number to have emigrated from these islands.

The whole tonnage, both British and foreign, of all the ships cleared outwards to the United States of North America, during the year of which Mr. Cobbett speaks, was 145,844 tons. Foreign vessels are allowed to carry one passenger only, for every five tons, and British vessels one, for every two tons including the crew. But if any British vessel carry "merchandize, or goods," then she can carry but *one passenger for every two tons of the unladen part of the vessel.* Taking the average all round at one passenger for every five tons, and allowing nothing for merchandize or goods, and excluding the crews from all consideration, the whole number of persons could not have exceeded 29,069.

But the absurdity, the impossibility, of 150,000 persons arriving in America, from Great Britain and Ireland, much less from ENGLAND only, as Mr. Cobbett's words imply, admits of as direct proof in another way: 150,000 passengers would require 1500 ships of 100 tons each, if every ship took 100 passengers; or 1875 ships of 320 tons each, if every ship took 80 passengers; if every ship carried a passenger for every four tons, and took no merchandize whatever, and the amount of tonnage would be 600,000 tons.

But the returns to Parliament, to use Mr. Godwin's language, "sets all this at rest for ever." By these returns it appears that the total number of vessels cleared out from all the ports of Great Britain and Ireland, for the United States of North America, in the year 1819, was as follows:

	Ships.	Tons.	Passengers.
England	386	117,140	7,350
Ireland	71	19,161	2,513
Scotland	35	9,043	637
	492	145,344	10,500

Thus, instead of 1500, or 1875 ships, measuring 600,000 tons, carrying 150,000 emigrants, there were only 492 ships, measuring 145,344 tons, carrying 10,500 passengers, and among this number were many merchants, clerks, travellers, and others, who were not emigrants.

Instead of 80 or 100 emigrants to each ship, and one emigrant for every four tons, there were not 22 passengers for each ship, and not one passenger for every 13 tons.

The returns to Parliament, from which the above statement is taken, are, for the ten years preceding 1821, for England and Ireland; and for the nine years preceding 1821, for Scotland. All these accounts show a vast increase of emigration, in the years, 1816, 1817, 1818, and 1819, which decreased very much in 1820.

More than three-fourths of all the emigrants from England went in these four years of the series, and

less than one-fourth in the remaining six years of the series.

Considerably more than half the emigrants from Ireland went in the same four years, and considerably less than half, in the remaining six years of the series.

While, from Scotland, nearly three-fourths went in these four years, and the remaining one-fourth, in the other five years of the series.

"The limitation to which" Mr. Godwin "alludes lies," he says, "in this: The majority of the emigrants that pass over from Europe to North America may be supposed to be in the flower of their life. Now every such emigrant is equal to two human beings, taken indiscriminately among the population, or rather among the rising generation of an old-established country. For example, we have found that in four children born into the world, we have no right to count upon more than one female who, by child-bearing, can contribute to keep up, or increase the numbers of mankind, in the next generation. But of emigrants withdrawing themselves to America, as we have been informed they usually withdraw themselves in families, we have a right, if they go in the flower of their lives, *out of every four to count upon two females who, by child-bearing, may contribute to the future population of the country.* Those who pass over in the flower of their lives have already surmounted the dangers of childhood, and early life; and the females among them may immediately be counted in the roll of those effective members of

the community, for the purpose here treated of, who, and who alone, are of value in keeping up the internal, and proper population of a country. Perhaps, in consideration of this exception, we may reduce the number of emigrants necessary, upon the principles of this treatise, to account for the reported increase of population in the United States for twenty years, from 1790 to 1810, from 165,000 annually, to 80,000 or 90,000." *

*This is a sad begging of the question ; it is very loose and very assuming. He knows very little of emigration to the United States who can believe " that the emigrants usually withdraw in families." It is perfectly notorious, that the proportion of male to female emigrants is very great. Mr. Godwin does not, to be sure, say, that all who emigrate are in the flower of their lives, or that half of them are females just ready to commence breeding; but the passage is so worded as to convey the idea; and this being so, and taking a table constructed by Mr. Booth as a guide, the reader is called upon to believe, that the 165,000 persons, supposed by Mr. Godwin to have emigrated annually, from 1790 to 1810, may be reduced to 80,000 or 90,000, and, of course, that the 276,000, from 1810 to 1820, may also be reduced to 140,000, or 150,000 annually. This is any thing but reasoning. The hypothesis is equally fanciful and absurd.

Mr. Godwin says, " I have received an official account from Ireland, of the number of

* Reply, p. 401.

persons who *emigrated* from this country to *North America* in three years, ending 5th January, 1819. The total stands thus:

Number of persons *emigrating* from Dublin	6,645
from Ireland generally...	35,633
Total	42,278

Is there no chance that the persons actually *emigrating*, should even have exceeded the number officially reported under that head?"*

In the first place, it may be necessary to remark, that no report is made under "*that head*," that is, as *emigrants;* the return is simply as to passengers, and whether he be an emigrant, a merchant, or a traveller, he is a passenger.

In the second place, it is hardly possible, as we shall see, when we come to speak of the laws on this subject, that any considerable number of passengers should be omitted in the return.

In the third place, it does not appear, from Mr. Godwin's statement, how many were emigrants to Canada; and it is very probable, that a general return, such as Mr. Godwin speaks of, included also the West Indies, as the Irish accounts *for North America* usually do.

In the fourth place, it does not appear what Mr. Godwin means by an official return. In the official return made to Parliament, it appears, that in the three years to which Mr. Godwin refers, and they were years of comparatively very large

* Reply, p. 111.

emigration, the total number of ships for the three years, was 321 ; of tons, 81,098 ; of passengers, 14,239, cleared out of all the ports of Ireland, for the *United States of North America ;* while the average of passengers for the last ten years, is 3,065 annually; instead of 14,092 annually, as Mr. Godwin's statement might lead us to believe.

Mr. Newenham remarks, that, " if we said that during the fifty last years of the last century the average annual emigration to America, and the West Indies, (for a considerable number went to the West Indies,) amounted to about 4000, I am disposed to think, we should rather fall short of, than exceed the truth." * And even this must be taken to include the Canadas.

Mr. Newenham represents the years 1771, 1772, 1773, as years when emigration was carried to a great extent from the North of Ireland, and the " annual average is stated at 9,533 ;"† but how many went to Canada, how many to the United States, and how many to the West Indies, does not appear.

Mr. Wakefield, who had access to the official documents, doubts the correctness of Mr. Newenham's statement. He says, " that considerable emigrations may have taken place, in some years, I do not mean to controvert, but they were not annually to such an extent ; and from all the accounts I have been able to collect, they have now

* Enquiry respecting the Population of Ireland, p. 60.

† Ib. 59.

(1811) almost ceased, as will appear from the following list." *

A list is then given of the names of all the vessels which cleared out of all the ports of Ireland, their tonnage, and number of passengers in each, and the day on which they cleared for any port in the United States of America, between the 5th of March, 1806, and the 1st of June, 1811, inclusive. By this list it appears, that,

In	1806 the number of passengers was	192
	1807	304
	1808	113
	1809	126
	1810	45

In 1811 emigration increased with great rapidity. Mr. Wakefield's account comes down to the 1st of June † only, by which time a return had been made of 628. passengers, who had embarked, and the official return, which will be noticed presently, shows that the number of emigrants in that year was a considerable number.

In 1818 was published at Philadelphia a very valuable work, under the title of "Statistical Annals of the United States of North America, founded on Official Documents ‡ from the 4th March 1789 to 20th April 1818, by Adam Seybert, M. D.,

* Wakefield's Account of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 712.

† It should be observed, that emigration to North America is confined almost wholly to the summer.

‡ This work was compiled under the sanction of the American Government, "by an act passed on the 20th April, 1818. The Secretary of State is directed to subscribe for, and to receive, for the disposal of Congress, 500 copies of the

Deputy to Congress from Pennsylvania, and Member of several Scientific Societies."

The second section treats of emigration.

The compiler says, "It is not his intention to establish any theory of population, but to determine as much as possible from facts, leaving the speculative philosopher to draw his own conclusions, and to contend with Wallace, Davenant, Petty, Hume, Price, Malthus, and other political economists."

"It is," he says, "believed that the population of the United States has been much augmented by the emigrants from Europe: there are no authentic documents on the subject, and we can only estimate the increase we have thus acquired. *Emigrants come principally from Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany; but few from other countries.* In 1794,

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Statistical Annals purposed to be published by Adam Seybert of Philadelphia."

On the 23d Jan. 1819, it was

"Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled, that the Secretary of State cause to be distributed one copy of Seybert's Statistical Annals to the President of the United States; to the Vice-President of the United States, and to the Executive of each State and Territory, one copy; two copies for the use of each of the departments, viz. State, Treasury, War, and Navy; one copy for the use of the Attorney-General of the United States; and one copy to each member and delegate of the fifteenth Congress; and one copy to each College and University in the United States, if applied for by such College or University; and the residue of *the* 500 copies of the Annals aforesaid shall be deposited in the Library of Congress, for the use of the members."

Mr. Cooper estimated them at 10,000. In 1806, Mr. Blodget said, from the best records and estimates at present attainable, they did not average more than 4000 per annum for the ten preceding years. In 1794, the people in Great Britain were very much disposed to come to the United States, but this current was soon checked by the acts of the British Government."

"Though we admit that 10,000 foreigners might have arrived in the United States in 1794, *we cannot allow that they did so in an equal number in any preceding or subsequent year until* 1817."

Dr. Seybert enumerates several causes which prevented emigration from this country to the United States; among others, the custom of impressing men found on board ships leaving this country, which was, as I know, a common practice.

In 1817, one of the great years of emigration to the United States, when many causes, both here and in other European States, induced people to leave their native countries, it appears, that the arrivals from all parts of the world in the ten principal ports of the United States, and they are almost all the ports at which emigrants arrive, were 22,240.

"The returns were obtained from the records of the Custom Houses, except Charlestown, which was made from the report of the Harbour Master. They include all *passengers*, citizens, and aliens, who arrived in the ports enumerated."

The number of persons who went on business must have been very great. Many from the West Indies, for instance, many from the Canadas, may also be supposed to be of this description, and some probably made several voyages during the year. Dr. Seybert concludes that 6000 *settlers per annum, from* 1790 *to* 1810, *was the utmost the United States could have received.*

By an act of the 15th Congress of the United States, dated March 2, 1819, chap. 46. sect. iv. and v. it is ordered,

That every captain or master of every ship or vessel arriving in any port of the United States, or the territories thereof, shall, when he reports his vessel to the proper officer, deliver a list, which shall contain,

1. An accurate account of every passenger taken on board his ship or vessel in any foreign port or place.

2. Every such list must contain the age, sex, and occupation of every passenger:

3. The country to which they severally belong.

4. The country in which they purpose to settle.

5. The number, if any, of those who died on the voyage.

6. The list shall be sworn to by the master, under the same penalties for neglect or refusal, and the same disabilities and forfeitures, as are provided for a refusal or neglect to report and deliver a manifest of the cargo.

7. The collectors of the customs must deliver,

every quarter of a year, the lists received to the Secretary of State, who must lay them before Congress in every session.

In the National Calendar for the year 1821, a list is given of the number, sex, and occupation of the passengers who arrived in the different ports of the United States from the 30th Sept. 1819, to the 30th Sept. 1820; and by this list it appears that the total number of persons, exclusive of the crews of the vessels, was 7,001: of which, 1,959 *were females*, and 5,042 *were males*. The ages are not given, nor the countries whence they came; except that "they are chiefly from Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, and France. Many belonged to the United States, and were returning home, which has tended to swell the number under the class of merchants, which appears to be 938. A very few have stated their residence to be but temporary; and there are some who appear to be merely passing to and from Canada." The list contains an account of all who came. There are in it, two ambassadors, four consuls, one governess, one steward, one judge, one nurse: these are probably among those whose intended residence was declared to be temporary. There is no account of the number of persons who at any time left the United States: yet the number must have been considerable.

"The question between us," says Mr. Godwin, "is the cause of the increase. Mr. Malthus says it has been repeatedly ascertained to be from procreation only. I SAY the *cause* is emigration."*

* Reply, p. 439

The American evidence which has been adduced proves the absurdity of Mr. Godwin's assertion, and is decisive of the question against him. Having shown, from the American evidence, the insignificance of the immigration to the rapid increase of the population in the United States, the next enquiry shall be as to what better evidence the British accounts furnish to support Mr. Godwin's assertion.

By the act 43 G. 3. c. 56. *British vessels* are allowed to carry, *including the crew, one person for every two tons, by measurement of such part of the vessel as may remain unladen.*

Foreign vessels one person for five tons only.

No vessel can be cleared, unless a muster-roll, containing the name, age, sex, &c. of every person on board, has been delivered to the officer of the customs. The penalties under this act are quite sufficient to ensure its strict observance.

50*l.* per head for any person above the number allowed.

50*l.* for each omission in the roll.

500*l.* for taking any person on board at a place where there is no custom-house.

Vessels may be overhauled by a magistrate in port, and by ships of war at sea, and may be seized and detained until the penalties are paid, or security to pay them given.

Every vessel having fifty persons on board must take a qualified surgeon, a medicine chest, and must conform to other regulations.

By 57 G. 3. c. 10. British ships clearing out

for the CANADAS are allowed to have on board one adult, or three children under fourteen years of age, for every ton and a half of the *unladen part* of the ship. But every vessel clearing out for the Canadas must give a bond, in the penalty of 500*l.*, to land the passengers at the port to which the ship cleared, and nowhere else. On arrival at the port, the list of passengers is to be delivered to the governor of the port, who is to cause the passengers to be examined and compared with the list. No passenger must be allowed to land until the list and passengers have been compared by the proper officer; nor can the bond be cancelled until it has been done.

It would be mere waste of time to attempt showing that an accurate account must be given of all persons on board ships leaving the country, and indeed every body at all connected with shipping knows that such an account is given.

The substance of the official accounts laid before Parliament, of the number of ships, British and Foreign, cleared out from all the ports of Great Britain and Ireland, their tonnage, and the number of passengers, is exhibited in the following tables.

TABLE I.

Of the number of Ships cleared out, from all the Ports of Great Britain and Ireland, for the United States of North America. The amount of their Tonnage, and the number of Passengers, from the official returns laid before Parliament, for the following years: viz.

Years.		England.	Ireland.	Scotland.	Totals. Ships.	Tons.	Passengers.	Years.
1811.	Ships	395	90	— —	485			
	Tons	111,653	25,529	No Account.	— —	137,182		
	Passengers	1,095	5,881	— —	— —	— —	6,976	1811
1812.	S.....	293	64	9	366			
	T.....	82,339	18,176	2,363	— —	102,878		
	P.....	936	4,562	163	— —	— —	5,661	1812
1813.	S	70			70			
	T.....	19,247	None.	None.	— —	19,247		
	P.....	260			— —	— —	260	1813
1814.	S	9			9			
	T.....	2,711	None.	None.	— —	2,711		
	P.....	32			— —	— —	32	1814
1815.	S.....	440	37	22	499			
	T.....	151,317	8,840	5,976	— —	166,133		
	P.....	1 774	1,738	338	— —	— —	3,850	1815
1816.	S	455	131	39	625			
	T.....	159,991	31,089	8,845	— —	199,825		
	P.....	3,255	6,895	902	— —	— —	11,052	1816
1817.	S.....	574	87	46	707			
	T.....	161,009	21 676	12,054	— —	194,739		
	P.....	5,687	3,244	776	— —	— —	9,657	1817
1818.	S.....	569	103	50	722			
	T.....	159,899	28,333	12,254	— —	200,486		
	P.....	9,015	4,100	1,144	— —	— —	14,259	1818
1819.	S.....	386	71	35	492			
	T.....	117,140	19,161	9,043	— —	145,344		
	P.....	7,350	2,513	657	— —	— —	10,500	1819
1820.	Ships	546	51	29	625			
	Tons	144,856	15,884	7,848	— —	166,568		
	Passengers	4,254	1,720	740	— —	— —	6,714	1820
Totals: 10 years England & Ireland.—9 years Scotland.					4,600	1,355,113	68,961	

TABLE II.

Showing the total number of Ships cleared outwards, from all the ports of England and Ireland, in the ten Years, ending 31st December, 1820; and from Scotland in the nine Years, ending 31st December, 1820. The amount of their Tonnage, and the number of Passengers, from each country, separately and collectively.

	Ships.	Tons.	Passengers.
England	3,736	1,110,042	33,608
Ireland	634	166,688	30,653
Scotland	230	58,383	4,700
Totals	4,600	1,335,113	68,961

TABLE III.

Showing the Annual average, deduced from Table II. and also the proportion of Passengers to each Ship, and the number of Tons to each Passenger.

	Ships.	Tons.	Passengers.	Passengers.	
England...	373	111,004	3,360	1 to 33 tons	9 to a Ship.
Ireland ...	63	16,688	3,065	1 to 5¼ do.	49 do.
Scotland...	26	6,487	522	1 to 12½ do.	20 do.
Totals.....	462	134,179	6,947	1 to 19 do.	15 do.

The returns to Parliament include natives returning home, merchants, clerks, and other men of business, travellers and others, as well as settlers. No accounts can be obtained of those who left the United States and returned home; or of those who entered into the service of the South American States: of those who went to Canada and all other parts of the world; or of those who were killed in the late war; yet the number must have been very great, and the loss, upon the whole, much greater than the number received by the United States from the Canadas. If, however, the numbers be

considered equal, some allowance made for defective returns from some of the ports in Ireland, and the number of actual emigrants to be taken at six thousand per annum, it will surely be stating the number sufficiently high. If to this number be added two thousand per annum from the rest of Europe, it will make the total number of settlers eight thousand per annum. Let us, however, suppose that America has received eight thousand settlers annually for the last twenty-five years, which assuredly she has not, and to these let us add the number of deserters from the British army, in Canada and in the United States during the late war, to which Mr. Godwin has referred. The means of estimating the utmost possible amount of the settlers obtained from this source is also within our reach. An account is annually made up at the War Office, and regularly laid before Parliament, of casualties, deaths, and desertions, in the whole army, abroad and at home, including the militia. By these accounts it appears that "the number of desertions was,

In 1812 at home ...	3,409	abroad	2,509
1813	3,233	.....	2,589
1814	3,477	.....	5,380
1815	3,374	.....	4,029."

The desertions at home appear to have been nearly the same in each of the four years; those abroad differed very little in 1812 and 1813; but, in 1814, the number was rather more than doubled: it was during this year and the early part of 1815, that the great desertions from the armies in North America took place. If, then, we take the lowest

number, that of 1812, as a standard, it will appear that, in the three subsequent years, the number of deserters was increased as follows: viz. in

1813 by	89
1814 by	2,871
1815 by	1,520
Total ...	4,480

If we suppose every man of them to have settled in the United States, the annual average, for the last twenty-five years, will only be increased by 180. But it will be an increase of the unproductive class as to procreation, the whole number being men, and none of them breeding women. If these be added to the eight thousand before-mentioned, the total annual number of new settlers will be eight thousand one hundred and eighty. Eight thousand settlers per annum, for the last twenty-five years, or for any previous number of years, is a much larger number than America received; but there is still room enough for a more ample allowance, and, to put the matter beyond dispute, I will take it at ten thousand; and, notwithstanding Mr. Godwin says the native part of the population in the United States is decreasing, and that, including the emigrants, population, so far as it depends upon procreation, is at a stand, I will suppose that the immigrant population has doubled from procreation during those twenty-five years. Taking, then, an annual immigration of ten thousand for twenty-five successive years, and allowing them to double their numbers in the same space of time, the account will stand as in the following table: —

A TABLE, *showing the Proportionate Increase of 10,000 Emigrants annually for 25 years, from 1796 to 1821, the period of their doubling by Procreation being also 25 years.*

Years.	Number of Emigrants in each Year.	Number of Emigrants and their Increase at the Close of 1820.
1796	10,000	20,000
1797	10,000	19,453
1798	10,000	18,921
1799	10,000	18,404
1800	10,000	17,900
1801	10,000	17,411
1802	10,000	16,935
1803	10,000	16,471
1804	10,000	16,021
1805	10,000	15,583
1806	10,000	15,157
1807	10,000	14,744
1808	10,000	14,339
1809	10,000	13,947
1810	10,000	13,566
1811	10,000	13,195
1812	10,000	12,834
1813	10,000	12,483
1814	10,000	12,142
1815	10,000	11,810
1816	10,000	11,487
1817	10,000	11,173
1818	10,000	10,867
1819	10,000	10,570
1820	10,000	10,281
Total of Emigrants...	250,000	With Increase... 365,694

The Population of the United States in 1800 was 5,309,758
in 1790 it was ... 3,929,326

Showing an Increase of 1,380,432

If this increase be divided by two, and the half be added to the amount of the population of 1790, it will give for the population, in 1795,—4,619,542.* If this be doubled in the ensuing twenty-five years, the amount of the population, in 1820, will be 9,239,084; and, if to this number be added the emigrants and their increase, as per the preceding table, the total population will be 9,604,778, half a million, probably, less than the amount of the census now taking.† Had the emigrants and their increase been nearly three times the number they have been assumed, for the purpose of illustration, to be, still the population would have doubled its number by "procreation only" since 1795, without any aid from emigration, or any increase of people from increase of territory.‡

* In allowing half the increase for the first half of the ten years, from 1790 to 1800, more is conceded than an accurate calculation would warrant; but greater precision is not necessary.

† March, 1821.

‡ See Appendix, No. I.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

SECTION II.

INCREASE OF PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES FROM PROCREATION. — EXAMPLES IN THE PARISH OF HENGHAM. — AT PORTSMOUTH. — VALUE OF LIFE IN THE PRINCIPAL CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES. — IN SWEDEN. — COMPARED. — PROOFS OF A VERY RAPID INCREASE OF PEOPLE FROM PROCREATION IN THE UNITED STATES, FROM MR. GODWIN'S DATA.

ENOUGH has been said to establish the fact, that the population in the United States of North America has doubled in periods short of twenty-five years, from procreation; and that immigration has, for a long period, been of comparatively small consequence. And here, repeating Mr. Godwin's words, "the argument might be closed." But Mr. Godwin lays much stress on the arguments he has used in his succeeding chapters, and if these were left unnoticed, it might be objected that they could not be refuted. The subject is also of too much importance to the welfare of the human race to justify any one who interferes with it, in leaving any part of it in doubt or obscurity, which he has the means of elucidating.

In what follows, it will be seen that Mr. Godwin has proved his case against himself. While denying to the United States any increase at all from procreation, he has produced evidence which

proves a very rapid increase, although he does not appear to have appreciated the proof he has adduced. He says, " he trusts it has appeared that the ONLY *increase of population by procreation, must be by increasing the proportion of births to a marriage*, or, more strictly speaking, to the amount of women capable of child-bearing in that community." * This, however, like other parts of Mr. Godwin's system, is founded on the assertion, " that by the constitution and course of nature, half the born *must* die in their non-age." Yet he has shown, that, in Sweden, where half the born die in their non-age, the population increased nearly one half in fifty-four years, with the proportion of births of which he was speaking, but he does not seem to have been at all aware of the contradiction. Mr. Godwin had formerly said, childhood and youth were the periods when mortality ought to be the least; and those who have had opportunities of investigating the subject, will, it may be expected, concur in this conclusion. But now he says, " Mr. Malthus must have six out of every eight children born, die for the benefit of the geometrical ratio," and he himself must have nature to destroy half of them for the benefit of his paradox. It does not follow that an increase of births is necessary to an increase of people, and this Mr. Godwin has himself proved in the case of Sweden; even in that country, a decrease of mortality in the juvenile part of the community would alone be sufficient rapidly to increase the number of people.

* Reply page 119

Mr. Godwin proceeds to show, from a paper read at the American Philosophical Society on the 18th March 1791, and published in their Transactions, that, in the parish of Hengham, in the state of Massachusetts, in fifty-four years there were

Births	2247
Deaths	1113
Marriages	521

Mr. Godwin has made no remark on the great increase of the population, although the births were more than twice as many as the deaths. But he says, this statement "brings us down to something like an European standard;" it will be seen, however, that it does no such thing. When Mr. Godwin speaks of Europe, he must be understood as referring to Sweden; he has rejected the tables of every other country, and declared those of Sweden to be alone worthy of regard, and in Sweden "half the born die by the constitution and course of nature, in their non-age."

The parish of Hengham was noticed by Mr. Malthus,* and what he has said, although published before Mr. Godwin's observation, may still be considered a reply to him. Yet there are some important circumstances connected with the statement which were not noticed either by Mr. Malthus or Mr. Godwin.

It is plain that "the constitution and course of nature" did not kill half the born at Hengham in their non-age, the whole of those who died at every age being less than half the number born.

* Vol. 1. p. 150.

It also appears that the number of births to a marriage was nearly four and three-eighths; Mr. Malthus calls it four and one-half, Mr. Godwin four and one-quarter.

If half the born died in their non-age, only one in four of all the born could ever grow up to be a marriageable woman, and Mr. Godwin has shown that the women capable of child-bearing in Sweden were not quite one in five of the whole population*, and he made it out that the proportion was four and one-eighth births to every such woman.† As, however, the number of children at Hengham must have been much greater than in Sweden, there must have been a smaller proportion of child-bearing women to the whole population in Hengham than in Sweden, and we should not perhaps err if we reckoned the births at upwards of five for every such woman. But taking the Swedish tables for our rule, let us enquire as to the results. "The births in Sweden," Mr. Godwin shows us, "are four and one-eighth to a marriage."‡ If each marriage produced four births only, we have his authority for asserting that the population could not be kept up, but that the one-eighth of a child additional, when spread over a population of three millions, is sufficient to supply the place of those who do not marry, and to increase the population nearly one-half in fifty-four years.§ At which rate the population would be doubled in 94.012 years. If one-eighth of a child

* Godwin, p. 168.
† Ib. p. 171
‡ Ib. p. 186.
§ Ib. p. 172

to a marriage under these circumstances be sufficient to supply the deficiency of those women who do not marry, and to double the population in ninety-four years, how long, it may be asked, will three-eighths at Hengham require to do the same? Mr. Godwin resorts to the rule of proportion; and, although by that rule the period will come out longer than by a more accurate deduction it would do, yet it comes near enough for the present purpose; this rule answers the question by 31.33 years. And thus, if the value of life were no greater at Hengham than in Sweden, the population would double in 31⅓ years. But the statement shows that the value of life is much greater at Hengham than in Sweden.

In p. 157, Mr. Godwin has inserted a table of the marriages, births, and deaths, in the whole of Sweden for fifteen years, by which it appears there were

Born	1,299,290
Died	980,341
More born than died	318,949

The result is that, in the fifteen years for which the account for Sweden is given, more than three-fourths the number of all the born died, and the increase was less than one-fourth; while, in the parish of Hengham, in the fifty-four years for which the account is given, not quite half the number of the born died, and the increase was consequently more than half; a rate of increase prodigiously greater than that of Sweden.

The difference in the degrees of mortality, between the whole of the United States of North

America and Sweden, is very great; and there is, perhaps, no part of Mr. Malthus's Essay which is more clearly and satisfactorily made out, than the effect of decreased mortality in rapidly increasing the population; and the parish of Hengham is a striking example. It cannot be supposed that the grown-up population at Hengham lived to a greater age, generally, than that in Sweden; whence it follows, that the number of children reared at Hengham must have been greater than in Sweden. A larger number of persons there must attain the middle age, and consequently the decrease of mortality must be principally among the younger, and the breeding part of the community.

The parish of Hengham is a satisfactory answer to Mr. Godwin, and sufficient to account for the rapid increase of the population in that part of the United States. Mr. Godwin selects it as a sample of the country parts of those States; and, in this view of the case, it is quite conclusive against him.

But Mr. Godwin does not stop here. He exhibits a statement of births and marriages at Portsmouth, a sea-port town in New Hampshire; and here the births appear to be 4.44., nearly four and a half to a marriage; a higher rate than at Hengham. If we suppose the mortality to be as great in Portsmouth as in Sweden, that the marriages are not more numerous, and that they are contracted as late there as in Sweden, still the population will, according to the rule of proportion, be doubled in 26.7 years. But if we suppose, what it is much more reasonable to suppose, that marriages are more

numerous; that the women marry at an earlier age; and that the mortality is nearly the same as at Hengham, the population will double in less than twenty-five years.

Thus Mr. Godwin's documents prove his case against himself; and shew that the power of procreation is quite as efficient as Mr. Malthus has described it as being.

In Dr. Seybert's Statistical Annals,* is a table of deaths in the four principal cities of the United States, for the year 1814; from which it appears that in no one of them were half the number of deaths under twenty years of age; while, from an average of all the Swedish tables furnished by Mr. Godwin, it appears that considerably more than half of those who died in Sweden were under twenty years of age.

The account is as follows:

	Baltimore.	Boston.	N. York.	Philadel.	Sweden.
Died under 20 years of age.	551	353	824	837	39,109
Died upwards of 20 years of age.	601	374	1150	946	31,887
Total, died.	1152	727	1974	1783	70,996

Which gives for the proportions dying under twenty years of age, to the whole number of deaths,

In Baltimore ..... 47.82 per cent.
Boston 48.55
New York 41.74
Philadelphia ... 46.94
} Average, 45.51.

Sweden ..... 55.08.

* Page 49.

Every one of those cities gives a higher value of life than does the whole of Sweden; and the tables prove that a much larger proportion of the children born in those cities are reared, than are reared in the whole of Sweden.

The difference is very considerable, there being only 45½ deaths in those cities in every hundred, under twenty years of age; while, in Sweden, the number of deaths in every hundred, under twenty years of age is upwards of 55; an increase in favour of America, of nine and a half on 45½.

Mr. Godwin has taken the marriageable age of a woman at twenty, and that period cannot therefore be considered as too early; and it follows, as matter of course, that if, instead of being married at twenty, every woman abstained until she was twenty-six or thirty years of age, she would produce fewer children.

Mr. Godwin, however, insinuates, that this would not be the case. He says, "It seems sufficiently, indeed, probable, that the female of the human species is endued with a certain degree of fecundity; and I believe it will be found, in a majority of instances, that the woman who is called upon early to afford that species of nutrition from her frame which the unborn infant requires, sooner grows old, and ceases from the power of child-bearing, than the woman in whom this faculty is not called forth till a later period.*"

In other places Mr. Godwin controverts his own doctrine. for instance, he says, "Though the

* Reply, page 428.

actual period of child-bearing may be stated as from the age of twenty to forty-five years, yet the *activeness of that capacity will be* found to be *greatly diminished for a considerable time before it totally ceases.* And ag ain, he says,' ' When we take the term of twenty-five years, from twenty to forty-five years of age, as the period in which a woman is capable of child-bearing, we must not suppose that capacity to subsist in equal strength during the whole period. A woman endowed with all the fruitfulness of the most fruitful of her sex, may, for a time, bear a child regularly, within a certain period. From twenty to thirty, we will say she may do so; but this is less likely to happen after thirty—more improbable after thirty-five."*

In his former reply to the Essay on Population, Mr. Godwin says, " It is needless to remark, that *where marriage takes place at a later period of life, the progeny may be expected to be less numerous."*

How all these matters are to be reconciled, must be left to Mr. Godwin and Mr. Booth. But of this we may be certain, even if Mr. Godwin had not himself produced the proof, that more children would be born by having all the women married at eighteen, than there would be by delaying their marriages until they were twenty-five or thirty years of age.

Yet, with documents selected by himself, and making directly against himself, in direct contradiction to his own doctrines, and even to his very words, who could have expected that Mr. Godwin would have printed the following passage

* Reply, page 213

"*Now I say*, that a greater number of children are not born to a marriage in the United States than in Europe. To which I here add, that as large a number are cut off prématurely by *disease*, or *otherwise*, in the United States as in Europe." *

Mr. Godwin has a chapter on diseases in the United States, but it proves nothing. It shows only, that people die in America as they do every where else; and that certain diseases kill more than others, which needed no proof. Consumption is noticed as the most destructive disease in the sea-port towns of the United States. "The number of consumptive cases (deaths) was, in 1816, in New-York, 678; exceeding by 60 what took place in 1815." In 1819, the deaths from consumption in New-York, were 577; less by 101 than in 1816.

Dr. Heberden has shown, that the "deaths in London from consumption, during the last century, increased from 3,000 in the beginning, to 5,000 at the end."† In 1820, they were 3,959. It has, however, both by the same authority and by others, been satisfactorily shown that the health of the population in London, as well as in all the towns in the kingdom, has greatly improved; and this has also been confirmed to me by the actuaries at several of the Life Insurance offices. Thus the prevalence of a particular disease may be no proof of a great, or of an increased mortality.

* Reply, p. 130.

† Observations on the Increase and Decrease of different Diseases, &c. p. 12.

To have made his chapter on diseases bear upon the question, it would have been necessary to have shown the proportion of deaths to births, in at least a very large portion of the Union, and the numbers living at several periods. This has not been done; and it is impossible, from any thing Mr. Godwin has said of the proportion of births and deaths to the whole population, even in the parish of Hengham, and the sea-port town of Portsmouth, to judge accurately of the increase; since the numbers of the living are not given at either of those places.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

SECTION III.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN AMERICA.—IN SWEDEN.—NUMBER OF ADULTS.—NUMBER OF CHILDREN TO A MARRIAGE.—NUMBER OF CHILDREN REARED.—NUMBER OF BREEDING FEMALES IN BOTH COUNTRIES.—COMPARED.—AMERICAN COMMUNITY MUCH BETTER ADAPTED TO AN INCREASE OF PEOPLE THAN THAT OF SWEDEN.

"I *now come*," says Mr. Godwin, "*to the principal point in my whole subject.*" * The question between us is, the cause of the increase of the population in the United States? Mr. Malthus says, that 'it has been repeatedly ascertained to be from procreation only.' † *I say the cause is emigration.*"

"Now, fortunately the contents of the reports of the American Census seem to set that question *for ever at rest.* Certainly, if these reports may be depended on as accurate, *I see no way of escaping from the conclusion* I draw from them."

The conclusions are two: 1st, that in order to double the population in twenty-five years, there *must* be eight children to a marriage; 2d, that *population in the United States has not been increased, and is not increasing, from procreation.*

* Reply, p. 437. † Ib. p. 439.

"The authors of the American Census for 1800 and 1810, have fortunately classed the free white inhabitants according to their ages, and thus enabled us to ascertain the number of adults and the number of children. *This is the most important piece of information relative to our subject that can be conceived.* According to the Census of 1810, the free white inhabitants under sixteen years of age throughout the union amount to 2,933,211; above sixteen years of age to, 2,928,882; placing those under and above sixteen years of age as nearly as possible on an equality. Hence it *inevitably follows*, that, *throughout the union the population, so far as depends on procreation, is at a stand; and that there are not, on an average, more than four births to every female capable of child-bearing.* This is altogether as satisfactory as if we had a table of births and marriages for every state in the union as particular as Sussmilch's tables for the German dominions of the King of Prussia. It may be considered as equivalent to a general reduction and summary that should be made of the results of such tables, when they had once been constructed, and, as being made on a larger scale, it may seem to be less liable to error." *

"If it were true that 'the population of the United States doubled itself for above a century and a half successively in less than twenty-five years,' and that this had been 'repeatedly ascertained to be from procreation only,' it is *absolutely certain* that in that country *the children*

* Reply, p. 441.

would out-number the grown persons two or three times over. It would have been a spectacle to persons from other parts of the world of the most impressive nature. The roads and the streets would have seemed covered with children."

"The Census sets all this at rest for ever. It assures us, from the highest authority, that there are *no more children* in the United States than there are grown-up persons. Of consequence, *supposing all to marry agreeably* to Dr. Franklin's hypothesis, *the average number of births to a marriage is remarkably small, four must be an* AMPLE *allowance.* I own for myself I felt some scepticism as to the European accounts of four births to a marriage: I thought that still there might be some latent error; but, with respect to the United States, I do not see how we can resist the evidence before us: *four births to a marriage* MUST *be the utmost* that occur in that country." *

This is delivered in a high tone of exultation, and yet there is nothing in it. Mr. Godwin has run on without ever looking where he was going: he has stated his case in a rapid plausible manner, and has carried along with him the understandings of a great many persons, who, without examination, have taken his assertions and conclusions for facts.

It has appeared, from Mr. Godwin's own data, on the authority of the Swedish tables, and on the

* Reply, p. 442.

American accounts, that the population in the United States may double its population in less than twenty-five years from procreation, without there being the smallest necessity for eight births to a marriage, so repeatedly insisted upon by Mr. Godwin.

Mr. Godwin will have it that the population in the United States is at a stand, because the number of children under sixteen years of age do not greatly exceed half of the whole population; and he gravely tells us, that he has drawn this "*inevitable conclusion*" from a comparison of the proportion of children to adults in Sweden. This is a very singular inference, for the comparison, it will be seen, gives directly the contrary result.

In pages 154, 155, 156, and 158, of his Reply, Mr. Godwin has inserted tables of all the living in Sweden at five different periods. The ages in those tables are classed as follows: viz.

Born	1	to	3
	3	...	5
	5	...	10
	10	...	15
	15	...	20, &c.

The ages, as stated in the American tables, are,

Under	10	years of age,	
	10	to	16
	16	..,	26, &c.

In order, therefore, to ascertain the number of children under sixteen years of age in Sweden, one-fifth of the number between fifteen and twenty years of age has been added to those under fifteen

years of age; and the result is, that the number of children under sixteen years of age to the whole population, was,

In 1757, rather more than	.....	40 in the hundred.
1760	.....	40
1763	.....	40
1780	.....	35
1805 rather less than	.....	36

giving for the whole series an average of 38 per cent.

Dr. Seybert's tables were, he informs us, collated with the tables of the actual returns to Congress, and from these it appears that the free white population in the United States was as follows:

In 1800 under 16 years of age	.....	2,109,476
1810	.....	2,933,211
In 1800 above 16 years of age	.....	2,200,280
1810	.....	2,928,882

which gives for the number of children under sixteen years of age to the whole population,

In 1800 rather less than	... 49 in the hundred	} average 49½
1810 rather more than	50	}

being, in comparison with the population of Sweden, an increase in favour of the United States of 11½ children on every 38.

The carelessness of Mr. Godwin is quite unaccountable. "In America," he says, "the average number of births is remarkably small;" and the reason he assigns is, "that *only half* of the population is under sixteen years of age;" and he "cannot see how the evidence is to be resisted, that *four*

births to a marriage must be the utmost." Whence, then, came the children? The "irresistible evidence" is, that in America half the population is under sixteen years of age, and that in Sweden not much more than one-third of the population is under sixteen years of age. And yet, strange to say, in Sweden there are four and one-eighth births to a marriage, in America not quite four. How Mr. Godwin came to make such a statement is inconceivable. It is perfectly clear that, in proportion as the number of children in America is large, the number of breeding women must be small, both cannot be in excess; and it will accordingly be found, that the number of breeding women is a smaller proportion of the whole population in America than it is in Sweden, while the proportion of children to breeding women is largest in America. Whence it follows, that the number of children born in America is larger in proportion to the number of breeding women than it is in Sweden; and that more of those born in America grow up to a child-bearing age than in Sweden.

Still does Mr. Godwin contend, that "it *inevitably follows* that the population in the United States, so far as depends on procreation, is at a stand." Sweden, with thirty-eight children in the hundred of the whole population under sixteen years of age, could double its population at the rate of ninety-four years; but America, with forty-nine children in every hundred of its population, is inevitably doomed to stand still. Such are Mr. Godwin's reasonings; such the results of his comparisons.

Mr. Godwin, in his remarks on the Swedish tables, has dwelt at much length on the proportion of child-bearing women to the whole community, which he says must, in an increasing population, be very great. He has presumed that this must be so, because, by the "constitution and course of nature, *half the born must die in their non-age*," and because, "as far as we have yet had an opportunity of ascertaining, we shall have four births for every woman arriving at a proper age for child-bearing."* And in the United States of America he finds they are less than four.

But Mr. Godwin has here proved too much. If there can be but four children to every marriageable woman, and if half of those children die in their non-age, the inference cannot be mistaken — the utmost the parents can do is to replace themselves. If Mr. Godwin's arguments were sound, the earth would have been a desert long since. His arguments are not only unsound, but he presents us with evidence to disprove them — when he tell us, that in fifty-four years Sweden added one half by procreation to her population.

If the number of such women be less than one in four of the whole population, and Mr. Godwin says they are only one in five; and if the children reared be two and one-sixteenth only to every such woman, population must decline, and it can never recover itself; for, if there are no more than four and one-eighth children to each such woman, and half of them die by the "constitution and course

* Reply, p. 172.

of nature in their non-age," no means are left again to increase the number of the people, and the community must perish. Sweden, according to Mr. Godwin, has as nearly as possible the exact number of breeders, while the United States of North America fall short of what he calls the requisite number; and, strange as this may at the first moment appear, it will be found to be an essential condition in a state which is rapidly increasing its population from procreation.

Mr. Godwin admits that the children under sixteen years of age in the United States form one half of the whole population: this is, to be sure, a very large number. "But," says Mr. Godwin, "were population in America increasing with the rapidity of which Mr. Malthus talks, "they would outnumber the grown persons two or three times over." It is this delusion which seems to have blinded Mr. Godwin. He must have the right number of breeders; and as he cannot have that number and the children too, he rejects the evidence, sufficient as it is; and, as he cannot see his way out of the labyrinth in which he has involved himself, he denies that there is any way out.

He says, "A greater number of children are not born to a marriage in the United States of North America than in Europe."

"That as many die in their non-age as in Europe;" and,

"That four births to a *marriage* there, must be the utmost that occur." *

* Reply, p. 431.

If these assertions be tried by the rule laid down by Mr. Godwin, it will appear that the United States are rapidly decreasing, at least so far as procreation is concerned.

The number of females between sixteen and forty-five, to the whole population of Sweden, appears to be twenty-two in the hundred. In the United States, nineteen only in the hundred.

The number of children in Sweden, in 1805, who were under sixteen, was thirty-six in the hundred. In the United States, in 1810, no less than fifty in the hundred of the whole population. Whence it follows, that, in Sweden, for every twenty-two females between sixteen and forty-five, there were thirty-six children under sixteen years of age. While in the United States, for every nineteen such females, there were fifty children. This simple statement of the fact, appears to me decisive. If in the American tables the ages had been stated, as they are in the Swedish tables, the number of children to the grown-up women, would have appeared still larger.

The number of child-bearing women in America is, to the whole population, about seventeen in the hundred less than it is in Sweden. But although the females in America, between the ages of sixteen and forty-five, bear a much smaller proportion to the whole population, than they do in Sweden, still they bear a larger proportion to the grown-up population.

In Sweden, by the tables before referred to, it appears that the females between sixteen and

forty-five years of age, were nearly sixty-seven in the hundred of all the females who were upwards of sixteen years of age.

In the United States of North-America, they were seventy-seven in the hundred of all the females above sixteen; making a difference in favour of America, of ten on every sixty-seven breeding women in Sweden. And here, again, could we compare the intermediate ages in America with the Swedish tables, the account would, no doubt, come out still more advantageously for America.

Hence results "the inevitable conclusions," that there are more births to a marriage in America than in Europe; or, as Mr. Godwin has it, more births to every grown-up woman; that more children are reared, and, indeed, that the population is, as it must necessarily be, a better population for the purposes of rapidly increasing the number of the people.

It could not but be thus. The United States of America are happily free from all the most material evils, whether of government or climate, which afflict Sweden, and inevitably tend to the destruction of human life in its early stages. The poverty too, which must deter numbers from marrying in Sweden, and cannot fail to delay the period of marriage generally, may hardly be said to operate at all in any part of the United States. In the one country, a family, if it be not a curse, is a very heavy burthen; in the other it is an actual blessing.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE "DISSERTATION ON THE RATIOS OF INCREASE IN POPULATION AND IN THE MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE; BY MR. DAVID BOOTH."

MR. Godwin, in his preface, says, "Without the encouragement and pressing instances of MR. DAVID BOOTH, *my work would never have been* BEGUN; and the main argument of the second book *(of the power of increase in the numbers of mankind, and the limitation of that power)* is of his suggesting. But, indeed, the hints and materials for illustration, I have derived from his conversation are innumerable, and his mathematical skill assisted my investigation, in points in which my habits for many years were least favourable to my undertaking."

At the end of the second book is a "dissertation from the pen of Mr. Booth, on the ratios of increase in population, and in the means of subsistence," intended to prove mathematically, as it is called, that is, by calculation, that the increase of people, in a geometrical series, is, under any circumstances, impossible; and, indeed, that any increase of people, however small, cannot reasonably be expected.

Mr. Booth says, that "Mr. Malthus, if he understood the subject, has taken it for granted, that his comparison of ratios would escape the notice of

mathematicians; and that his order of increase in the geometrical ratio of 1. 2. 4. 8. 16. 32. 64. 128. 256., &c. represents *no connected chain of the expansion of human life.*"* It seems somewhat strange that Mr. Booth should thus have peremptorily decided on what might, or might not be passing in the mind of Mr. Malthus; and still more so that he should give as a reason for the conclusion, that the increase would not be in each and every year, exactly in the same order. Mr. Malthus has said, over and over again, that the increase would fluctuate; but that, in a certain number of years, the population would be doubled; and, circumstances continuing the same, it would again double in the same space of time. Mr. Malthus cannot be understood to be speaking even of the periods of doubling with mathematical exactness. He puts down the series, in order to show, that under certain circumstances, there would be an increase of people at a certain rate, were it not prevented by the impossibility of food being provided at the same rate. All he can be fairly understood to mean, is that in a healthy country, where there was "no crowded and selfish metropolis," (or large manufacturing towns) "with their nauseous and hidden dens, where man lives unseen and unpitied, and where he dies of hunger." Where the people were virtuous, and where a large quantity of fertile land was unoccupied, their numbers would be doubled in a series represented by 1. 2. 4. 8., &c., in

* Reply, p. 245.

periods of twenty-five years; so long as food was produced at the same rate of increase; that when all the land had been appropriated, and perhaps before all the land had been appropriated, food would no longer be produced at the same rate; and that whenever this happened, the poorest part of the community would at first be worse supplied with comforts than they had formerly been, and in the course of time, with fewer necessaries. That the increase of people would be checked, by what he calls the preventive check, or delayed marriage; from which fewer children would be born, and from the consequences of vice and misery which the want of sufficient food, and other accommodations necessary to health, would, in various ways, and under various forms, engender. How any body can misunderstand this as the substance of what Mr. Malthus has said, seems strange; and how any one, wishing to understand Mr. Malthus, and desirous of discovering the truth, should interpret him in any other way, seems still more strange. This was the way in which Mr. Godwin formerly understood him; he saw no absurdity, contradiction, or even ambiguity, in Mr. Malthus's statements; they appeared to him to be clear enough, and it has been seen that he took considerable pains to propagate the knowledge of the principle of population, as laid down by Mr. Malthus. "Let it," says Mr. Godwin, "be recollected that *I admit the ratios of the author in their full extent, and that I do not attempt in the slightest degree to vitiate the great*

functions of his theory."* "The *basis* of our author's work, the *ratios of population and subsistence*, I regard as *unassailable*, and as constituting a valuable acquisition to the science of political economy."† "As unquestionable an addition to the theory of political economy as any writer for a century past, has made; made too," he says, "*without any parade of science*, and the most unaffected simplicity of manner." ‡

Mr. Booth sees the "mote in his brother's eye, but he cannot see the beam in his own;" he seizes hold of an illustration, tries it by a rigid mathematical induction, to which it is plain it was never intended to be submitted, and to which it cannot in fairness be submitted, finds fault with the want of strictness in the mode of expressing it, when he himself, even while occupied in exposing the loose way in which Mr. Malthus has written, commits the same fault himself, and in his mathematical treatise, talks of "*the connected chain of the expansion of human life.*"

Mr. Booth makes two accusations against Mr. Malthus; 1st, "That his philosophy is not the method of induction. He perpetually appeals to principles which have never been brought into action, and which are opposed to all experience." 2d, "He speaks of tendencies to human increase, and of powers of population, which in no state have been left to exert themselves with perfect

* First Reply, p. 61. † Ib. p. 76. ‡ Ib. p. 56.

freedom." Having made these accusations, he passes sentence in the following words: "This is exactly in the *stile* of those dreamers, who predict of the future something unlike and opposite to what has ever appeared in the past." * The first accusation is neither logical nor intelligible. The second is directly opposed to facts. Mr. Godwin has said, that Mr. Malthus did *not*, because he could not, prove his assertions. Mr. Malthus probably thought, and indeed he says as much, as that the power to increase, so as to double the population in twenty-five years, was proved as soon as the increase in the United States of America was mentioned. That the United States have doubled the amount of their people in less than twenty-five years, from procreation repeatedly, has been fully proved in the preceding chapter, and Mr. Malthus has at least been shown to be neither a "predictor" nor a "dreamer" on this part of his subject. Yet a man may predict "something unlike and opposite to what has ever appeared in the past," without being "a dreamer," or Mr. Booth has passed a severe condemnation on Mr. Godwin's "Enquiry concerning Political Justice." After the sentence passed by Mr. Booth on those who talk of tendencies, and predict of the future, it could not have been expected that Mr. Booth should himself become a dreamer, that he should dream, and relate his dream in the stile he has condemned; yet it is so. Mr. Booth sets himself to answer the following question: "If a colony were constituted of persons of all ages,

* Reply, p. 246.

such as they exist in Europe, and were the proportion of births raised in a great degree by the removal of the *present checks* to population, might not the inhabitants increase in a geometrical ratio, and double their number in twenty-five years?"* If removing the "*present checks*," would "increase the proportion of births in a great degree," and thus decrease the rate of mortality, Mr. Booth has at once answered himself and Mr. Godwin, and proved Mr. Malthus's case. To prove his own case, Mr. Booth refers to a table he has constructed of 10,000 persons, and then goes on reasoning to show, that "it would require forty years for the first doubling, and about thirty years for each of the two succeeding doublings, and that this period would become less and less through a series of a very complicated form, though it (the doubling) *would never be under twenty-five years*." † Were this table really of any use, it would prove all that Mr. Malthus has asserted; for in an enquiry like this, where a term of years was taken simply as an illustration, a fluctuation in the periods of doubling between twenty-five and thirty years, would be a matter of very little moment. This is, however, the way Mr. Malthus and his disciples, "the dreamers of dreams," are answered by mathematicians wide awake. Mr. Booth treats the ratios and tendencies spoken of by Mr. Malthus as unqualified absurdities, even as to language, and then he adopts both himself, and expresses them in the very words used by Mr. Malthus. Mr.

* Reply, p. 283. † Ibid.

Booth does, to be sure, call to his aid a supposition, that by some occult cause the females shall become doubly prolific. To this he was obliged to resort, to make the results correspond with his hypothesis, but this does not at all alter the case; he predicts exactly in the way he accuses Mr. Malthus of doing, and if the objection will hold against Mr. Malthus, it will also hold against Mr. Booth.

But neither Mr. Malthus nor Mr. Booth are absurd in talking of tendencies and ratios; it would be difficult to divine how either of them could have made himself understood in any other way; the absurdity lies in Mr. Booth's suppositions, on which he has formed his table, in his condemnation of Mr. Malthus, without refuting him, and in the asperity in which both he and Mr. Godwin have indulged. In answering the question, Mr. Booth has refuted himself.

Mr. Booth having condemned the geometrical series, whose exponent is 2., and having observed that any other series might have been assumed, asks, "Why not take 1. 4. 9. 16. 25., &c. which increase as the squares of the terms 1, 2, 3, 4, 5., &c. for ought that Mr. Malthus has discovered, this may be the latent law of increase." It is hardly fair to ask a man, why he has not done something different from what he has done, when it does not seem necessary that he should have done it, yet both Mr. Booth and Mr. Godwin pursue this course. Mr. Malthus might, however, reply, why not, indeed? In what relation to the

increase of mankind, consists the difference between the geometrical ratio and the squares of 1. 2. 3. 4. 5., except in the length of the periods. There is no argument against Mr. Malthus in this.

"The mathematician," says Mr. Booth, "forms series at his pleasure, where the additions are *regulated by certain* LAWS. *It is not so with* THOSE *of nature.*" This seems very strange. Like causes can no longer produce like effects. Mr. Booth is in the lady's secret, it seems, and we have all been cheated by false appearances. Although he adds, that those *laws of nature* are beyond the philosopher's ken." This, to be sure, has not much the appearance of mathematical language, notwithstanding his is a mathematical dissertation, and notwithstanding he would pin down Mr. Malthus to mathematical exactness, when he made no pretensions to any such accuracy, and when his subject did not require it.

The second section of Mr. Booth's dissertation is almost wholly a repetition or extension of what Mr. Malthus has himself said, but put into a form which implies contradiction, and into words condemning Mr. Malthus, for saying there is an inherent power in mankind to increase faster than food can be provided for them, the consequence of which is extreme poverty, vice, and misery. According to Mr. Booth, it is very unwise to talk of tendencies, where the object to which they tend has never yet been realised, and this too is Mr. Godwin's present opinion; yet of how many tendencies of this kind has Mr. Godwin dwelt upon

in his "Enquiry concerning Political Justice;" and that too with good effect, it is only, as he himself teaches, by those who obtain a knowledge of general principles, take long views, and see to what circumstances tend, that practical men can be put in the way to be useful, or society be materially improved. How these things are to be accomplished, without understanding the tendencies of general principles, is more than Mr. Booth's mathematics will enable him to explain.

Mr. Booth has made assertions, which are as much opposed to Mr. Godwin as to Mr. Malthus. He laughs at an inherent power, which, according to him, can never be called into action. This, however, is, in the present case, a mere play upon words. Mr. Malthus has explained clearly enough what he means; he says, the capability exists, but that it is prevented exerting itself to the utmost, by different counteracting causes, operating, more or less, in different countries. Mr. Booth makes this identical with the mathematical proposition, that equal forces destroy each other; and he here assumes, that a counteracting force equal to the preventing any increase of people, always exists. True enough it is, that the power or force of population may be destroyed at a certain point, by want of the means of subsistence, by vice and misery; but inasmuch as vice and misery are terrible evils, and as the conflict is continually going on, and, as the *tendency* may be counteracted by reason, instead of those terrible evils, Mr. Malthus proposes, that it shall be brought under the

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guidance of reason, and the suffering which its being allowed to operate occasions, be as much as possible prevented. This is Mr. Malthus's proposition; whether his mode of remedying the evil, be in all its parts the best mode that can be devised, is another matter.

Mr. Booth, however, treats all this with contempt, despises the reasoning, and denies the power. Mr. Godwin, on the contrary, finds himself compelled to admit, that "if there were not a power of increase in the numbers of the human species—*sometimes operating, and at other times existing as a power only without present agency*—the human species would, in all probability, have been long since extinct."* Mr. Booth must be left to reconcile himself to Mr. Godwin, respecting this "*latent power*," which both have condemned Mr. Malthus for alluding to.

Mr. Booth, in a confused paragraph, points out two modes of estimating the increase of mankind, or rather two modes of proving that they could not have increased at all. One from the account of the creation, the other from the *aspect* of human society. "Every table," he very truly observes, "made from the assumption of a single pair, must proceed on data furnished by the imagination." The table constructed by Euler for Sussmilch, is given as an example. "He (Euler) takes a married pair twenty years old, as the founders of his race. This pair are to have six children, at

* Reply, p. 347.

three births, three males, three females; these births are to be in the twenty-second, twenty-fourth, twenty-sixth years of the parents, who are to live till forty years of age, and then die. Every succeeding pair are to marry at twenty, and have six children at three births, as before, and to die at forty; this is supposed to continue in the same way, from generation to generation, and the results are given in a table for 300 years, at the end of which period, the number living is stated at 4.008.954.* Nothing can be much more absurd, than the hypothesis on which this table is constructed, and nothing can be more useless than such a table. Yet here, says Mr. Booth, "*surely here, if any where*, the geometrical ratio *should* be found." Mr. Booth says this gravely, although he knew that the absurd supposition on which the table was founded, excluded the possibility of such a series. Yet Mr. Booth would have us consider this as fair and candid reasoning.

Mr. Booth having remarked on the absurdity of the statement, on which Euler constructed his table, jumps at once to the conclusion, that "under any form of increase from a single pair, it is impossible there can be a geometrical proportion in the increase of mankind,"† and he implies, that this can never be the case, at any period, for he observes, that "the *descendants* of a single pair, can never increase in a geometrical ratio," and he adds, "neither can a modern colony, for such a

* Reply, p. 256, *et seq.* † Ib. p. 262.

colony is only a certain number of grown-up pairs." But this is a sad begging of the question, in every way.—He shows that from a single pair, a number of children may be born, and that the first period of doubling may be very short, and, so, by possibility, may be the second; but as we must wait until the children grow up, before there can be a further increase, the ratio will be destroyed; he then makes a colony of similar pairs, and presents it to us as a reality, from which we are to make our calculations, and to draw our conclusions, assisted by his arbitrary rule which he lays down, just as Sussmilch did for Euler; all this is clearly nothing to the purpose, and yet it has imposed upon many, who ought to have known better, than to have suffered themselves to be cheated out of their understandings, by a display of figures, and by absurd calculations.

Mr. Booth next proceeds to "contemplate mankind, as they are found existing on the earth;"* but as we cannot know all that is necessary to be known, respecting the births, deaths, ages, &c. of any one nation, for a series of years, Mr. Booth takes the best evidence he can find, the Swedish tables. "The population of Sweden," Mr. Booth observes, "appears to be increasing, but certainly in no ratio approaching geometrical." This is precisely what Mr. Malthus has said, and this, indeed, is the ground on which he stands; he says, under the most favourable circumstances, population

* Reply, p. 264.

would double in periods of about twenty-five years; but that, in all old settled countries, this rate of increase is impossible; could it even be doubled in a very long period, it could not go on doubling in the same space of time again, in a lengthened series. Mr. Booth is not then opposing the doctrine of Mr. Malthus, but is bearing witness to its truth, — confirming it.

Mr. Booth exhibits a table of the population of Sweden for nine years, 1754 to 1763, from which it appears, the numbers were,

In 1754 2,323,195
... 1763 2,446,394
being an increase of 123,199, or 13,799 annually.

Mr. Booth's observations on this table, are very remarkable; he says, "The population is nearly stationary, and *certainly not increasing*; if we keep in view the necessity of a fund, to supply the waste occasioned by those calamities of nature, and unexpected convulsions of society, which history records as having so often retarded and diminished the population of kingdoms."* Something more precise than the mode of expression here used, might have been expected from Mr. Booth, particularly as one of his objections to Mr. Malthus is the want of accuracy. Mr. Godwin has inserted a table of the increase of population in Sweden, from 1751 to 1805, from which it appears that there were,

* Reply, p. 266.

"In 1751, persons of all ages 2,229,611
... 1805 3,320,647

Showing a total increase in 54 years of 1,091,036 or one-half nearly" *

This too is an answer to Mr. Booth. On this table, Mr. Godwin remarks, that, "to judge from what has appeared in 54 years, from 1751 to 1805, we should say, that the human species, in some situations, and under some circumstances, might double itself in somewhat more than 100 years." † And this is an answer to Mr. Godwin by himself.

In the beginning of the Swedish series, population increased very slowly, and Mr. Booth, for the purpose of illustration, picks nine years from the series, two of which were years of extraordinary dearth, and then he makes, "a table averaged from these nine years together, with the proportions calculated to a population of 10,000. These tables are formed from the comparison of nine years, but did they represent the average of centuries, they would give us a fair view of the progress and waste of human life in the state and climate of Sweden. We will suppose they do." ‡ Did they represent nine centuries, they would doubtless give us the progress of human life during that period; as it is, they give us the progress for nine years, out of a series of fifty-four years, and nothing else; there is a fallacy in Mr. Booth's way of putting his case, calculated to mislead his reader, which must be

* Reply, p. 160. † Ib. p. 161. ‡ Ib. p. 269.

exposed. Mr. Booth takes the consequitive nine years from the series which contain the lowest rate of increase; during the greatest part of the whole series, the population increased by more than double the number taken by Mr. Booth, and then he says, the population of Sweden is to be considered as not increasing at all.

He takes no notice of the population having increased nearly one-half in fifty-four years, but he proceeds to construct tables to prove, as he says, that *there can be no doubling* in *geometrical progression*, nor, according to him, any increase at all; so he reasons here. He might, had he pleased, have taken the nine years of the greatest increase; he might have taken the three years of greatest increase, inasmuch, as for the construction of such a table as his, three years, would have answered the purpose as well as nine. But then he would have confuted himself, by showing that the period of doubling would be very short. He might have made his table from a period in the series, when, as appears by the Swedish table, the population was declining; and then, upon *his* plan, he might have proved that, not only in Sweden, but also in the North American States, the population was fast wearing out. Tables constructed on such arbitrary data, and so applied, are absolutely good for nothing.

Mr. Booth assumes a rate of increase, or decrease, at his pleasure. He has half the born regularly killed, "by the constitution, and due course of nature, in their non-age:" he has all

the marriages, and the number of the born, always exactly alike as to time and age. But this is not "dreaming." No: He condemns Mr. Malthus, and the rest of the dreamers, for asserting the power of the human species, under the most favourable circumstances, to double in short periods, because, as he says, they have only the three or four first steps of the series, and then he puts his nine isolated years for all countries, and for all times, and exhibits its effects in the following table.

Years.	Born.	Under 5	5 to 10	10 to 15	15 to 20	20 to 25	25 to 30	30 to 35	35 to 40	40 to 45	45 to 50	50 to 55	55 to 60	60 to 65	65 to 70	70 to 75	75 to 80	80 to 85	85 to 90	Above 90	All the Living.
0	.....	1408	1076	1015	859	821	785	741	631	556	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	7892
5	1850	1408	1076	1015	859	821	785	741	631	556	464	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8856
10	1850	1408	1076	1015	859	821	785	741	631	556	464	414	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8770
15	1850	1408	1076	1015	859	821	785	741	631	556	464	414	356	...	...	...	...	...	...	9126
20	1850	1408	1076	1015	859	821	785	741	631	556	464	414	356	314	...	...	...	...	...	9440
25	1850	1408	1076	1015	859	821	785	741	631	556	464	414	356	314	220	...	...	..	...	9660
30	1850	1408	1076	1015	859	821	785	741	631	556	464	414	356	314	220	169	...	...	...	9829
35	1850	1408	1076	1015	859	821	785	741	631	556	464	414	356	314	220	169	98	...	...	9927
40	1850	1408	1076	1015	859	821	785	741	631	556	464	414	356	314	220	169	98	49	...	9976
45	1850	1408	1076	1015	859	821	785	741	631	556	464	414	356	314	220	169	98	49	18	...	9994
50	1850	1408	1076	1015	859	821	785	741	631	556	464	414	356	314	220	169	98	49	18	6	10,000
55	1850	1408	1076	1015	859	821	785	741	631	556	464	414	356	314	220	169	98	49	18	6	10,000

"It appears," says Mr. Booth, "that 370 annual births are *just* sufficient to keep up a population of 10,000." * This is excessively weak; no regard is paid to climate or food, to the increased value of life from any cause; every thing must remain as Mr. Booth has set it down, without change or variation. Mr. Booth has pointed out the absurdity of the data on which Euler constructed his table for Sussmilch, and has observed, that "the mathematician forms series at his own pleasure, where the additions are regulated by certain laws. It is not so with those of nature, whether her series alternately progress and retrograde; whether they *circulate or decrease or flow in straight and eternal lines*, is beyond the ken of the philosopher." † Here we have a *circulating series*, and a *flowing series*, in *straight lines*, which are *eternal;* surely this is not mathematical language; but, whatever it is, and whatever it may mean, is of little consequence. Mr. Booth has subjected nature to a series formed by a "mathematician at his pleasure," and what was hidden "from the ken of the philosopher," is discovered and laid open; *capricious nature* can no longer "*progress* and *retrograde*, or *circle*, or *flow eternally in a straight line:*" she must go on until from 7,892 persons she has produced 10,000, and then Mr. Booth cries halt, and is obeyed. Here we have 1850 births every five years to a day, not one more nor less, always 1408 children under five years of age, always 859,

* Reply, p. 269. † Ib. 248.

or considerably less than half the born between fifteen and twenty years of age, so that the "constitution and due course of nature" is made to kill half the born in about seventeen years. All the numbers in all the ages are always exactly the same; and, if it so please Mr. Booth, always 10,000; but not one more at any time to disturb the regularity of Mr. Booth's table. Nature has submitted herself to his control, and he, by a *mathematical calculation*, has put an end to her caprices for ever. Mr. Booth's table was intended to prove another point of which Mr. Godwin has not however availed himself, namely, that every person above the age of forty-five, man or woman, are perfectly useless in regard to population, and if they were all cut off, the population would still go on increasing just at the same rate, until it had increased to 10,000. "We find," says Mr. Booth, "*from the foregoing table*, that although we destroyed more than a fifth of the population, the whole are created anew in the course of fifty years, the 10,000 inhabitants are again brought forward, and society ceases to have any further increase." This is arrant trifling, and quite unpardonable in a person who had, but a few pages before, exposed the absurdity of all such calculations.

Mr. Booth is not, however, to be put aside from his purpose; it is not enough that he has condemned all such tables, and shown their inapplicability to the real circumstances of the world, but he applies his tables directly to those circumstances. He

says, " the diseased and inefficient members of the community, in addition to those above fifty years of age, might be cut off, which would reduce the number to less than 7,000. The apparent number of propagators would have thus been lessened, but the births would not therefore be fewer, and in a certain number of years the 10,000 would be restored," but not one more. " There *may* THEREFORE *happen* to be very extensive variations in the census of a society, in the germ of which there is no *principle of permanent increase*. They are precisely those adventitious beings, who increase with favorable years, and who, when unfavorable seasons arrive, swell by clusters the bills of mortality." * Mr. Booth *finds*, that " The number of grown-up women in the 10,000, are 1,767; that of these 267 will not produce children, and that the remaining 1,500 will produce annually just exactly 870 children, who will produce again, in exactly the same order, the same number of children. He has found also that twenty years of age is exactly the period for a woman to marry, to have the largest number of children; because, if they marry sooner, they will cease to breed sooner. And this empyricism, this effort of the imagination, is to be taken by sober, thinking men, as an answer to Mr. Malthus, — as a refutation of the " Principle of Population."

But Mr. Booth has not yet exhausted his imagination: " Keeping in view our table of 10,000,"

* Reply, p. 273.

—Nothing can be done without our table of 10,000! — Let us suppose:

1. A colony of 3,837 persons.
2. Half males, half females.
3. Between the ages of 15 and 40.
4. This being the marriageable or child bearing age.
5. With only the Swedish *powers* of propagation, according to *our table*, (not what these powers appear to have been at any other period of the series; or what they were in any other country at any time.)
6. An annual emigration for the first 15 years of exactly 172 persons, half males, half females, and all between 15 and 40 years of age, and in exact proportion to the ages of those who formed the colony.

Was there ever before such a series of supposes, so absurd, so impossible to be realised? But, grant them all, and then — Mr. Booth will make another table. This he has done, and placed it in p. 276. By the help of this table he proceeds to show, that 10,000 persons would be produced, but not one more. He pretends to apply his table, and his reasoning, to the actual state of society, and says, that such a colony would expand with great rapidity in the beginning of the series. He then assumes all his supposes to be realised, in the actual condition of the American United States, compares it to "the polypus without its limbs, which Mr. Malthus catches in the middle of its growth, measures the length of limbs already attained, and comparing it with time, forms a ratio of increase, in which, he asserts, they will expand for ever." Here Mr. Booth has committed almost all the faults, real or imaginary, which he and Mr. Godwin have found in the work of Mr. Malthus, and mixed them up with the grossest absurdities, which, of course, can

in no way be applicable to the purpose for which the dissertation was written. "Granting for a moment," says Mr. Booth, "that the three or four censuses which have been taken in the United States of America, do exhibit something like a duplication in twenty-five years; granting, too, that this increase has arisen solely from procreation, independent of emigration, there certainly exist no data from which to infer the law of the series. We have only four, or, at most, five terms given us, some of them extracted at intervals of time by no means regular, from a series *perpetually flowing*, and of the ebbs and floods of whose motion we know nothing; and from these the ordinary reader is presented with a *picked* set of numbers in geometrical progression with the ratio of two." * Taking for granted, as Mr. Booth says, the increase from population, the whole of Mr. Malthus's case is fully proved; not only as an approximation for the purpose of illustration, but also as showing enough of a series for all the purposes to which he has applied it. How any man can be called upon to prove more than is necessary to the full developement of his case, and why he should be considered as having proved nothing, because he has not done what it is utterly unreasonable and impossible he should do, must be left to the consideration of such calculators as Mr. Booth; who, while they condemn Mr. Malthus, make tables themselves, more absurd than any thing they have pointed out in the tables of others. †

* Reply, p. 246.

Mr. Booth has constructed a table of the population in Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Indiana, and observes, that here a population of 281,311 persons more than doubled its numbers in ten years. "These," he says, "are ratios of which Mr. Malthus might have boasted, but he has not boasted." Why Mr. Malthus should have boasted without any reason, does not appear. Mr. Malthus knew that the increase was not alone from procreation; he knew that emigrants from other parts of the United States were settling in these particular states; and, in the very next page, Mr. Booth himself alludes to this circumstance. The increase of the population in the several states named by Mr. Booth, is stated as follows, viz.*

Kentucky, ratio of increase in ten years,	1.8
Tennessee,	2.35
Mississippi,	4.44
Indiana,	5.21

By which it appears, that the increase in the oldest settled states, in which all the land had been sold by the government, was less than one-fourth, as rapid as in the newest state in which but a small proportion of the land had been sold. But, says Mr. Booth, "It may be said, and perhaps with truth, that many of the emigrants to these states may have been from the other parts of the United States, and not from Europe; but comparing in the same manner the whole American census, we shall find an astonishing extent of emigration." He means a large increase of people,

* Reply, p. 280.

for the census can show nothing else. This is, however, the language of a mathematician. "The white population," continues Mr. Booth, "of 1800 was, 4,305,971, these in ten years would be diminished by a fourth. It is very improbable that more than 3,200,000 should have constituted the number of those above ten years of age in the census of 1810; for whatever proportion the births of that country may bear to the whole population, the proportion of deaths is *certainly greater than in Europe*. And it is not necessary to suppose a power of procreation to account for the increase, beyond what is found to prevail in European nations."* It must be borne in mind, that Mr. Booth brings all these matters to the test by means of his table of 10,000, composed from nine years picked from the Swedish series, of "little or no increase;" and hence it follows, that if the actual procreation in the North American States be no greater, and the value of life no higher than Mr. Booth represents it, the population, but for the immense emigration, would in no very long period be extinct. Mr. Godwin says, the United States have not kept, and do not keep, up their population by procreation. But Mr. Booth, although no other inference can be drawn from his statements, says, that it does something more than keep up its population from procreation.

"The actual census of 1810 was," Mr. Booth remarks, "3,845,389 persons above ten years of age, giving a surplus of 645,389," (that is a surplus

* Reply, p. 281.

above his estimate which must be taken as infallible,) "which can be accounted for in no way but by emigration." It has, however, been accounted for, but not by emigration. "The census of 1810 contains also 2,016,704 children under ten years of age: part of these, too, as well as the deaths of emigrants since their arrival, should be added to the 645,389 above stated; and, therefore, of the 1,556,122 persons which the census of 1810 exhibits beyond that of 1800, it is *clear as sunshine, that nearly one half was added by direct emigration.* Of the effects on the increase of population by the introduction of grown-up persons we have already spoken; and, adverting to these *two effects*, along with the *statement* now given, the additional population is completely accounted for, without supposing a *power of procreation beyond what is found to prevail* AMONG EUROPEAN nations."* It follows, from this statement, that, besides the emigrants who died between 1800 and 1810, there remained alive at the latter period 645,389, which deducted from the total increase of the population, leaves for the number of children born to the emigrants 900,723, who were living in 1810, besides those who died between 1800 and 1810. In a rough estimate, which is, however, quite sufficient for the purpose, it may be taken for granted, that the number of emigrants and their children who died were in proportion to those left alive; both may, therefore, be omitted, and attention given to the

* Reply, p. 282.

living only. Of the 645,389 emigrants in ten years, the yearly average is 64,538. Mr. Godwin says, the marriageable women in Europe are as one to five of the population; but that about one in twenty do not marry.* Mr. Booth says about one in seven are never fitted for marriage.† But, setting all this aside, and allowing that, of the number of persons supposed by Mr. Booth to have emigrated to the United States, one in every three was a young married woman,‡ and that every one of them was equally prolific, which is surely enough to satisfy even Mr. Booth's credulity, let us enquire a little into the rate of increase necessary to the production of 900,723 children, who should be all alive at the end of ten years. By Mr. Booth's account, it "is clear as sunshine" that 64,538 emigrants yearly, on an average, arrived in the United States. One-third of this number is 21,513 nearly, and this represents the married women supposed to have arrived annually; and from these the 900,723 children are to proceed, "without a power of procreation beyond what is found to prevail in European nations," which is stated to be four children and one-eighth to a marriage. If the ten years be divided into seven periods and a half, each of these periods will represent sixteen months; and if the 21,513 women have every one of them

* Reply, p. 184. † Ib. p. 270.

‡ From the returns made to Congress of the actual number of persons who arrived in the United States from Sept. 1819 to Sept. 1820, it appears that the males were more than five-sevenths, the females less than two-sevenths.

a child at the end of sixteen months from their arrival, and another child at the end of every sixteen months from that time, every one of those who arrived,

	Children.		Children.
In the 1st year would have	$7\frac{1}{2}$	Among them all	161,347
2nd	$6\frac{3}{4}$	.....	145,215
3rd	6	.....	129,078
4th	$5\frac{1}{4}$	.....	112,942
5th	$4\frac{1}{2}$	.....	96,809
6th	$3\frac{3}{4}$	.....	80,676
7th	3	.....	64,539
8th	$2\frac{1}{4}$	.....	48,404
9th	$1\frac{1}{2}$	.....	32,270
10th	$\frac{3}{4}$	.....	16,136
Total number of children			887,416
If from this number we deduct one-third for deaths, there will remain			591,611

How absurd, when carried out, does this appear, on Mr. Booth's own showing. What could he be thinking about, when he asserted that from 645,389 emigrants 900,723 children could be born and remain alive at the end of ten years? Did he take it for granted that his assertion, "that the whole increase of the American population was accounted for as clear as sunshine, by 645,389 emigrants, and the children they would produce," without a power of procreation beyond what is found to prevail among European nations, and with a greater mortality than those European nations, would escape the notice of mathematicians, or that such assertions could in any way be useful?

Mr. Booth does nature's work in grand style.

She is, in fact, no longer necessary. Mr. Booth has superseded her entirely, and substituted his tables in her stead; and then he cries out, "*I have found it!*"

From the wording of one passage, it may perhaps be objected that Mr. Booth means that nearly half of the increase was from emigration, and something more than half from procreation: all the difference this would make would be, that, instead of sixteen months being the period for each woman to have a child, it would require about eighteen months. It is not quite clear what Mr. Booth really does mean, and it may be taken either way.

"The whole white population in the United States in 1800 was 4,305,971: these in ten years would be diminished by a fourth;"* while all who remained of them would be upwards of ten years of age, and their number would have been 3,229,479. But as it is not necessary, in a mathematical dissertation, to be at all exact, and as a few thousands on one side of the question are as nothing, Mr. Booth cuts off the 29,479, saying, "It is very improbable that more than 3,200,000 remained alive in 1810. But the actual census was 3,845,389, giving a surplus of 645,389 of those above ten years of age, which can be accounted for in no other way than by emigration."†

But Mr. Booth's own statements disprove his bold assertions.

* Reply, p. 281. † Id. ib.

The number of white persons, according to the census of 1800, who were above ten years of age, was	2,871,021
Mr. Booth says the number of the same description of persons in 1810 ought to have been	3,200,000
Admitting, by his own account, a clear addition to that part of the population which was above ten years of age, of	328,979

Here, then, we have Mr. Booth endeavouring to prove that, if not a single emigrant had set his foot in the country during these ten years, the population above ten years of age would have increased 328,979. This acknowledged increase, cut down as it is to suit Mr. Booth's purpose, is an increase in the breeding portion of the community principally, the older dying off, and the younger growing up; and we have Mr. Booth's own authority for the great "effects of the increase of population by the introduction of grown-up persons," which is the very description of persons of whom we are now treating. And thus Mr. Booth proves his case against himself. If, according to Mr. Booth's own showing, the portion of the population above ten years of age was increased by 328,979 from those who had grown up, it will not be asking too much even of him to allow the probability that the population below ten years of age had, "by the introduction of grown-up persons," been increased by twice that number, which would be altogether an increase of 986,937 persons. If a very few less than one-fourth died, as Mr. Booth has conjectured, the whole increase of

the population, as shown by the census of 1810, with such a reasonable emigration as has been proved to have taken place, will be accounted for. Mr. Booth has himself, by his statement, suggested the means of satisfactorily accounting for the increase, without resorting to his absurd emigration of from 64,000 to 70,000 annually.

Mr. Booth has also set aside his favourite table of 10,000. By that table, 3700 children were to be produced in ten years; that is, something more than one-third of the whole stock of 10,000; the whole number of breeders starting fair at once. But in America only one-tenth of the breeders could have arrived in the first year; and the whole number could never have been complete until the end of the ten years. And yet, with his table staring him in the face, he makes the breeders who arrive in America produce three times as many children as his colony, which was complete in the first instance. Such are the absurdities into which mathematicians sometimes fall, when they set themselves to maintain an hypothesis which is fundamentally erroneous. Mr. Booth is here the asserter of a rate of increase from procreation far beyond any that Mr. Malthus or any body else ever imagined; and this he has done while attempting to prove there could be no increase at all but by emigration.

Mr. Godwin does not appear to have attached much credit to the arguments and calculations of Mr. Booth, nor to have been very desirous of drawing the attention of the reader to a too near exa-

minution of them. If he has not set them aside altogether, he has at the least thrown great doubt upon them. "We are not," he says, "enquiring respecting *gratuitous* and *arbitrary suppositions*; asking with Euler what would be the consequence if the deaths bore a certain proportion to the births, which never occurred; or, if occurring for short periods, is substantially the same as not having occurred at all." And he might have added with Mr. Booth, "We are not enquiring how the earth was originally peopled; for which purpose, according to Derham, it was necessary that the duration of the life of man should be about 1000 years.*" In his conclusions respecting the increase of population, he sets aside Mr. Booth's estimate of the increase from those who were above their tenth year in 1810, which Mr. Booth's statement makes 328,979; and says boldly, "That the *whole increase* of the population in the United States of America, has been *solely from emigration.*" Mr. Booth found no difficulty in conveying upwards of 64,500 persons (settlers) across the Atlantic annually, for ten years; and Mr. Godwin found as little in conveying twice or thrice the number. What the number really was, has been shown in the preceding chapter.

Mr. Booth argues over again, that unless the advance of population be mathematically exact every year, there can never be a geometrical progression in the increase of mankind; and this not being the

* Reply, p. 189.

case, "we may rest assured that the society does not exhibit a *permanent* principle of increase in the ratio, and in the time prescribed by Mr. Malthus."* It is well for Mr. Malthus that he did not talk of *permanent* principles. But whether the power of increase be such that under "the *most* favourable circumstances" mankind would double in less than twenty-five years, is, after all, not of any material consequence, and does not in the least affect the *principle* of population. And Mr. Booth has made a calculation himself, showing, according to his method, that the periods would be under thirty years.

Mr. Booth concludes his dissertation with a hint that the very race of mankind is wearing out. He asks "what vice and misery prevents the unlimited increase of eagles and sharks?" And he suggests that "the duration of life itself may diminish as it radiates from the primæval stock. So far from having to frighten ourselves with the idea of an overwhelming population, have we not rather to fear that we are sinking by degrees into a degenerate race, which in the lapse of time may be swept (he means worn out) from the face of the earth. These, to be sure, are (he tells us) questions of mere possibilities; but they are as *probable* and as *demonstrable* as the possibilities of (he means the principles developed by) Mr. Malthus."†

The "diligent enquirer after truth" will probably come to an opposite conclusion.

* Reply, p. 286. † Ib. p. 268.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE POPULATION OF ANTIENT STATES. — DESOLATION OF SOME FOREIGN STATES. — EVILS OF HUMAN INSTITUTIONS. — EXAMPLES. — PERSIA. — EGYPT. — MONTESQUIEU. — MR. GODWIN'S STATEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLE OF POPULATION.

No inconsiderable portion of Mr. Godwin's volume is devoted to an examination of the comparative numbers of mankind in antient nations. He refers to the dispute which existed in the early part of the last century, which occupied the attention of many learned men, but on which he has thrown no new light, nor done any thing which does not tend more towards the support of the conclusions in the Essay on Population, than to their refutation. In some respects, particularly in his account of the Romans, he proves, as others had done before him, that they were almost constantly "pressing against the means of subsistence." He shows the decline of population among the Lacedemonians, gives it as a proof that mankind cannot maintain their numbers, or that if they can, it must be with extreme difficulty; and then with much apparent simplicity, he asks Mr. Malthus to show him, how it happened that the Spartans came to be extinct as a people. Mr.

Malthus has already shown how it was the population of Lacedemonia decreased; and Mr. Godwin, had it suited his purpose, would have been at no loss to account for the extinction as a nation of that atrocious people.

The controversy respecting the populousness of antient nations can never be decided, since evidence of the actual amount of people, in even the most civilized of those nations, does not exist, and each disputant will draw his conclusions, so as to support the hypothesis he has adopted. But if it had been otherwise, if the actual population of all those nations could at every period be correctly known, it would not in the least destroy the reasoning of Mr. Malthus, in his exposition of the "*principle* of population." The principle or power which mankind possess to increase their species, must remain as long as human beings remain, although, as Mr. Godwin has himself stated, that power may be dormant under some circumstances, and be called into a vigorous state of activity under other circumstances.

Mr. Godwin quotes from the same authors as Mr. Malthus; each selects such passages as are favourable to his hypothesis; and this kind of strife might be continued to almost any extent, and each might claim the unprofitable victory. Mr. Malthus has, however, used his learning to prove, that all those antient nations were controled by the principle of population, and that the people were almost constantly pressing against the means of subsistence. Mr. Godwin, on the contrary, denies

those inferences, and condemns the principle of population as developed by Mr. Malthus, because, *he says*, it "is opposed to all antient authority." In his former reply, this was a ground of praise. The discoveries of Mr. Malthus were as *new* as useful, as "unquestionable an addition to Political Economy, as any discovery for a century."* It could hardly have been expected after this, that their novelty would have been made the ground of their condemnation.

Mr. Godwin's third book contains an examination of the general causes of the desolation of several foreign nations, nearly in the same language as Mr. Malthus has himself spoken of them. But Mr. Malthus has in some places been so very desirous to keep the effects of bad government out of sight, as by no means to have allowed them to fill the space they should have occupied. There are passages in his book in which its desolations are noticed, but they are finally declared to be of little moment. In his first edition, he said the evils of bad government were "mere feathers that float on the surface, when compared with the evils which arise from the passions of mankind." In his fifth edition, he admits that they are "the obvious and obtrusive causes of much mischief to society, but yet in reality *light* and *superficial*, when compared with those *deeper seated causes of evil*, which result from *the laws of nature* and the *passions of mankind*."† This is one of the passages which called

* First Reply, p. 56. † Vol. ii. p. 246.

forth Mr. Godwin's indignation, and caused him to argue with as much zeal as truth, that this part of the subject was treated by Mr. Malthus in a way calculated to encourage a pitiless despotism, to degrade and to destroy the people. Such passages as these have furnished an excuse to the proud and hardhearted for their contumelies and oppressions, and increased the ill will between different classes of the community. And yet it is impossible but to believe the intention of Mr. Malthus, in writing his book, was just the contrary.

If the institutions of society are of so little moment, what rational hope can any man entertain of amendment among the people? If those institutions, however administered, are neither good nor evil, but to so very trifling an extent as Mr. Malthus would persuade us; they are, if they cannot be brought to operate upon the manners and morals of the people, but in the most "light and superficial way," what means are there from which greater effects can be expected? How strange does it appear, that with almost unlimited power of commanding and punishing, and disposing of the lives and properties of a people, we are still to believe, that the evils this enormous power has the means of inflicting, however it may inflict them, and however long it may continue them, is of "little moment, when compared with the laws of nature and the passions of mankind." Evidently meaning, that the evils of mis-government do not result from "the passions of mankind." Light, however, as

those evils are represented to be, still Mr. Malthus strangely thinks they are too momentous to be remedied, or that any attempt should be made to remedy them. You must not touch any political institutions; these you cannot improve; the evils they produce you cannot remove; this is too great a work to be undertaken. But there is another work, to which, in comparison, these are "mere feathers floating on the surface," that you may undertake; in that you may succeed. There is, however, a fallacy in this. The condition of the mass of the people will be wretched in any country, no matter what its population, so long as it is wretchedly governed, and one of three things must happen: 1st, Government must be reformed, and be made to impede human happiness as little as possible. Or, 2d, It must conform itself to the increase of knowledge among the people; or, 3d, It must subdue them, and rule them as slaves.

Persia and Egypt are referred to as examples, both by Mr. Malthus and Mr. Godwin. Mr. Malthus has very clearly shown, what Mr. Godwin, however, directly denies, that the population in those countries constantly presses against the means of subsistence, except, indeed, at intervals, when the plague has thinned the population. Mr. Godwin has shown, what it would have been quite unnecessary to have shown, had not Mr. Malthus attributed it to other causes, that the population in those countries was diminished, and has been kept down by bad government.

Egypt has remained desolate nearly 2000 years, and this terrible and long-continued desolation must be attributed to bad government; and this is at once an answer to Mr. Malthus.

Mr. Malthus has observed, that if Turkey and Egypt have been in a stationary state as to their population for the last century, the births between their periodical plagues must have exceeded their burials in a greater proportion than those in France and England. There can be no doubt of this; had it not been thus, the population would have been extinct.

But a better government would have caused or permitted a state of society to have existed, so different from what we behold in these countries, as to warrant the expectation, that even the plague might have been exterminated, as it has been from England; but even, with its continuance, there would be a much larger number of people than the whole country now contains, who would possess many intellectual and physical enjoyments, which scarcely any person in those countries at present possesses, while the truly wretched would be a comparatively small number; whereas the present population may be said to be all wretched, and, with but few exceptions, as cruel, as vicious, and as abandoned to all sorts of crimes, as perhaps any people on the face of the earth. Mr. Godwin, whose hypothesis excludes him from contemplating an increased population, would say, that the effect of a better government would be, to make the present number of people more

comfortable, and more virtuous, but not more numerous.

Mr. Godwin, in order to elucidate his subject, quotes several instances "of the most memorable examples of the achievements of savage conquerors;" and he adds, "but we must not suppose, that the desolations produced by conquests were confined to such as these;" and then he quotes other instances of the horrid desolations, caused by more civilized conquerors, and the terrible effects of bad government, in the various forms it assumes, to thin mankind, and make them miserable.

Mr. Godwin also presses into his service, in order to show how difficult, or impossible it is, to increase the number of mankind, the opinions of several modern authors, particularly Montesquieu. But his selections prove only, that Montesquieu did not fully comprehend the principles of population, and was consequently unable to develope them. But Montesquieu abounds in passages directly the reverse of those Mr. Godwin has selected, and those who take either side of the question might, with equal ease, and with equal effect, quote Montesquieu. The only value of the authorities adduced is, in the way Mr. Malthus has used them, to prove that population was continually pressing against the means of subsistence.

Mr. Godwin himself appears to have been nearer the true solution of the principles of population, than any writer who preceded Mr. Malthus.

"It has been calculated," he says, "that the average cultivation of Europe might be so improved, as to maintain five times her present number of inhabitants. There is a *principle in human society, by which population is perpetually kept down to the level of the means of subsistence.*—Thus among the wandering tribes of America and Asia, we never find, through the lapse of ages, that population has so increased, as to render necessary the cultivation of the earth. Thus among the civilized nations of Europe, by means of territorial monopoly, the sources of subsistence are kept within a certain limit, and, if the population became overstocked, the lower ranks of the inhabitants would be still more incapable of procuring for themselves the necessaries of life. There are, no doubt, extraordinary concurrences of circumstances, by means of which changes are occasionally introduced in this respect; but in ordinary cases the standard of population is held in a manner stationary for centuries. Thus the established administration of property may be considered as strangling a considerable portion of our children in their cradle. Whatever may be the value of the life of man, or rather whatever would be his capability of happiness in a free and equal state of society, the system we are here opposing may be considered as arresting, upon the threshold of existence, four-fifths of that value and happiness."*

* Enquiry concerning Political Justice, vol. ii. p. 466, 3d edit. 1798.

"The question of population, as it relates to the science of politics and society, is considerably curious.—There is a principle in the nature of human society, by means of which every thing seems to tend to its level, and to proceed in the most auspicious way, when least interfered with by the mode of regulation;" whence he argues against restraining mankind from propagating. "In a certain stage of the social progress, (he observes) population seems rapidly to increase; *this appears to be the case in the United States of North America. In a subsequent stage it undergoes little change, either in the way of increase or diminution;* this is the case in the more civilized countries of Europe. *The number of inhabitants in a country will, perhaps, never be found, in the ordinary course of affairs, greatly to increase, beyond the facility of subsistence. Nothing is more easy than to account for this circumstance. So long as there is a facility of subsistence, men will be encouraged to early marriages, and to a careful rearing of their children.* In America, it is said, men congratulate themselves upon the increase of their families, as upon a new accession of wealth. The labour of their children, even in an early stage, soon redeems, and even repays, with interest, the expense and effort of rearing them. In such countries the wages of the labourer are high, for the number of labourers bears no proportion to the demand, and to the general spirit of enterprize. In many European countries, on the other hand, a large family has become a proverbial expression for an uncom-

mon degree of poverty and wretchedness. *The price of labour* in any state, so long as the spirit of accumulation shall prevail, *is an infallible barometer of the state of its population. It is impossible, where the price of labour is greatly reduced, and an added population threatens a still further reduction, that men should not be considerably under the influence of fear, respecting an early marriage, and a numerous family.*"

Speaking of the "precautions that have been exerted to check the increase of population," he says, "there are various methods by the practice of which population may be checked; by the exposing of children, as among the ancients, and at this day in China; by the art of procuring abortion, as it is said to subsist in the Island of Ceylon; by a promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, which is found extremely hostile to the multiplication of the species; or, lastly, by a systematical abstinence, such as must be supposed, in some degree, to prevail in monasteries of either sex. But without any express institution of this kind, the encouragement or discouragement that arises from the general state of a community, will probably be found to be all-powerful in its operation."*

And so says Mr. Malthus: Mr. Godwin might, with some show of reason, have alleged that Mr. Malthus, in laying down the principle of population, and in elucidating it, had done nothing more than carried out and developed his own views.

* Enquiry concerning Political Justice, vol. ii. p. 515—17.

CHAPTER VI.

MEANS OF PREVENTING THE NUMBERS OF MANKIND FROM INCREASING FASTER THAN FOOD IS PROVIDED.

SECTION I.

IDEAS OF MR. MALTHUS AND MR. GODWIN RELATIVE TO THESE MEANS.

MR. Malthus has made two propositions, on which he appears to place great reliance for the purpose of decreasing, and of gradually abolishing the poors' rate, and for keeping the population within the means of comfortable subsistence.

Mr. Godwin, in his former Reply to the Essay on Population, also proposed a remedy which he thought would be adequate to the correction of the evils admitted by him to have been produced by a redundant population.

The object at which Mr. Malthus aims, is the comfort and happiness of the great mass of the community. But he has not, on all occasions, taken the best means to accomplish his purpose. He has sometimes even treated his subject in a way which cannot but impede him in his course, and

has laid himself open to animadversion, from the prejudice he has displayed in favour of the rich, at the expense of the poor. Passing over what Mr. Malthus has said of "Nature's mighty feast," from which the poor man is thrust, since he has omitted it in his last edition, still is there left but too much cause for complaint. It ought, however, to be confessed, that in other places Mr. Malthus is fully disposed to do the poor man justice.

"There is," he says, "one *right which a man has been generally thought to possess, which I am sure he neither does, nor can possess: a right to subsistence, when his labour will not fairly purchase it.*"* "This," *he says*, "*is the law of nature*, which our laws attempt to reverse." And again: "He who ceased to have the *power* ceased to have the *right*." If, speaking for the poor man, he says, "If I firmly believed that, by the *laws of nature*, which are the *laws of God*, I had *no claim of right* to support, I should feel myself more strongly bound to *a life of industry and frugality*." I cannot help believing, that if the poor in this country were convinced that they had *no claim of right* to support, and yet in scarcities, and all cases of urgent distress were liberally relieved, which I think they would be, the bond which unites the rich with the poor, would be drawn much closer than at present."†

* Essay, vol. iii. p. 154. † Ib. p. 351.

That Mr. Malthus is perfectly sincere in thus expressing his opinions and declaring his expectations, cannot be for a moment doubted; but the belief in his sincerity is at the same time a belief of his extreme ignorance of human nature, in some very important particulars.

Mr. Malthus denies to the unemployed poor man the right to eat, but he allows the right to the unemployed rich man. He says, "every man may do as he will with his own," and he expects to be able to satisfy the starving man with bare assertions of abstract rights.

Mr. Malthus is not speaking of *legal right*, for he says, the poor have a *legal right*, which is the very thing he proposes to destroy. It is an abstract right which is denied to the poor man, but allowed to the rich; and this abstract, which has no meaning, although dignified with the title of the "*law of nature, which is the law of God*," is to be explained, and taught to the poor, who are to be "fully convinced."

These assertions of Mr. Malthus are all of them assumptions, founded on a vague notion of *right*. A man, he says, has no *right to exist*, if another man cannot or will not employ him in some kind of labour. This, he says, is the *law of nature*, which our laws attempt to reverse,—and this *law of nature*, is, he tells us, the *law of God*. He at the same time admits in words, that the means of existence are at hand, but are withheld; for he says, that even in times of scarcity, "the poor would be

liberally relieved," would not be permitted to die of hunger. No such *right* as Mr. Malthus speaks of, was ever instituted by nature. *Nature* never ordained that one man should labour for another man, *nature* made no such relation among men: *nature* left *every thing* in common, and the appropriation of any of her gifts, however acquired, can only be maintained and secured by compact; and it is by compacts and conventions among men, that *right* has any existence in the sense Mr. Malthus uses the word.

A man in possession of the good things of this life has a *right, a right created by law*, to keep what he has from others, if he choose so to do; but take away this *legal right*, as Mr. Malthus has done, and substitute his "*law of nature*," and the whole is at once resolved into a question of brute force, and the one has as much *right* to take as the other to withhold; and in a case of possession on the one side, and starvation on the other, to kill the possessor, to obtain the means of subsistence, if by other means he cannot obtain it.

The denial of the *right* of the poor man to the means of existence, when by his labour he cannot purchase food, is, notwithstanding its absurdity, purely mischievous; its obvious tendency is to encourage and increase the hard-heartedness of the rich towards the poor, and to lay Mr. Malthus himself under the same imputation. It is one of the passages in his book, which has mainly impeded the progress of information, respecting the principle of population among the people.

The other proposition of Mr. Malthus is not less mischievous than the preceding one, nor less calculated to produce, "envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness."

"As a previous step," he says, "even to any considerable alteration, in the present system of the poor laws, which would contract or stop the increase of the relief to be given, it appears to me that *we are bound in justice and honour formally to disclaim the* RIGHT *of the poor to support.*" This may be considered as the preamble to the bill which follows, and it is hardly possible to conceive a more offensive or unnecessary paragraph; the style is particularly revolting. "To this end, (he continues) I should propose a regulation" to be made, declaring, that no child born from any marriage, taking place after the expiration of a year, from the date of the law, and no illegitimate child born two years from the same date, should ever be entitled to parish assistance."* This is followed by several pages, written in a loose, figurative style, and on which, as well as on the proposal itself, Mr. Godwin has been particularly severe in his remarks, without, however, opposing the proposition on the right grounds.

Mr. Malthus proceeds, in an unsatisfactory, inconclusive manner, to condemn the man who, after notice given, *may choose to marry without a*

* Essay, vol. iii. p. 178.

prospect of being able to support a family."* Mr. Godwin, in reply to this, has successfully shown that no labourer, and very few artisans, have a prospect of being able to maintain a family; and that, consequently, on Mr. Malthus's hypothesis, scarcely any of them can marry without committing an immoral act. This seems never to have occurred to Mr. Malthus; he appears to have looked only to the consequences of an improvident marriage, in those who might happen to be thrust out, and become at some period of their lives unable to provide food for their children.

In his former Reply to the Essay on Population, Mr. Godwin examined the checks named by Mr. Malthus, and observed, "that there were other checks much less injurious to society, and less deplorable than vice and misery;" and he instanced *infanticide*, on which he made the following observations. "What was called the exposing of children, prevailed to a considerable degree in the ancient world. The same practice continues to this hour in China."†

Mr. Hume's objection, that "infanticide has never been found to keep down the population," is examined, and the conclusion, at which Mr. Godwin arrives, is, "that the exposing of children is in its own nature an expedient perfectly adequate to the end, for which it has been cited." Mr. Godwin reasons thus:

* Essay, vol. iii. p. 100 † First Reply, p. 64.

"I know that the habits and prejudices of modern Europe are strongly in arms against this institution. I grant that it is very painful and repulsive to the imagination of persons educated, as I and my countrymen have been. And *I hope, and trust, that no such expedient will be necessary* to be resorted to, in any state of society which shall ever be introduced in this or the surrounding countries.

"Yet if we compare it with misery and vice, the checks pleaded for in the Essay on Population, what shall we say? I contemplate my species with admiration and reverence. When I think of Socrates, Solon, and Aristides among the Greeks; when I think of Fabritius, Cincinnatus, and Cicero among the Romans; above all, when I think of Milton, Shakspeare, Bacon, and Burke, and when I reflect on the faculties and capacities every where, in different degrees, inherent in the human form, I am obliged to confess that I know not of how extraordinary productions the mysterious principle, to which we owe our existence is capable, but that my imagination is able to represent to itself nothing more illustrious and excellent than man. *But it is not man, such as I frequently see him, that excites much of my veneration;* I know that the majority of those I see are corrupt, low-minded, besotted, prepared for degradation and vice, and with scarcely any vestige about them of their high destination. Their hold, therefore, is rather upon my com-

passion and general benevolence, than upon my esteem. *Neither do I regard a new-born child with any superstitious reverence.* If the alternative were complete, I had rather such a child should perish in the first hour of its existence, than that a man should spend seventy years of life, in a state of misery and vice. *I know that the globe of earth affords room for only a certain number of human beings, to be trained to any degree of perfection; and I would rather witness the existence of a thousand such beings, than a million of million of creatures, burthensome to themselves, and contemptible to each other.*"*

This is doubtless a correct estimate, and accords with the opinion of Mr. Malthus, expressed in various passages in his book; but he has not ventured to propose infanticide as a remedy; he has, however, proposed one no more likely to be adopted than infanticide, nor less likely to produce intense suffering, but equally inefficient, to prevent the evil complained of. No one need be under any apprehension lest those propositions should be adopted; we are not in a condition to adopt either; and before we shall be in such a condition, both, it may be anticipated, will be unnecessary, even were they as efficacious as they are impotent. I, however, have no hesitation in saying, that if other and better means could not be found, that however painful it might

* First Reply, p. 61

be to my feelings, however revolting, however intense the suffering, and however widely spread in the first instance, I would at once recommend their adoption, were it made clear to my understanding, that they would *materially* and *permanently* benefit the working people in their pecuniary circumstances, without making them in other respects more vicious. But it may be asked if we are not in a condition to adopt these remedies, but must wait till the time comes when we may be in a condition to adopt others? Are the poor laws to continue to eat up the produce of the land, until none be left for any other purpose? I reply, No; these laws might soon be reduced to one or two plain and simple statutes, and the rates to a very small sum, if the government were to do its part, and if those whose duty it is to instruct the people, chose to supersede the necessity for raising a large sum. As for the rates eating up the produce of the land, of which we hear so much from landowners, farmers, and members of parliament, it is, after all, little better than nonsense; they eat up but a small portion, which under a better state of things would not be paid as wages. My objection to them arises from this, that they degrade every person connected with their administration, but most of all the labouring part of the community, and inasmuch as they increase the population, they increase it in the worst possible manner.

Mr. Malthus says, he has well considered his proposal, and concludes that it would, if adopted,

reduce the poor rates. That this would be one of its effects no one can doubt; but it would in all probability cause much greater evils to the whole of the working people, than those occasioned by the poor laws. It would degrade them and reduce them to the very lowest state possible; and much as Mr. Malthus may have considered his proposal, he would, it may be concluded, instantly withdraw it, were he convinced that it had the tendency here attributed to it. Mr. Malthus evidently thinks his proposal less cruel than infanticide, the one being a permanent evil, the other, as he supposes, transitory. Infanticide, unless the children of the poor were forcibly put to death against the will of the parents, would certainly not be "adequate to the end proposed;" neither would excluding from parish aid, the children born after the notice proposed to be given. Such a law, if passed in the present uninformed state of the people, on the principle of population, would not decrease their number in any perceptible degree, perhaps not at all, but it would reduce the whole of the working people to a state of absolute misery. Few marry from the encouragement held out to them by the poor laws, and Mr. Malthus appears to be of this opinion. He says, "the obvious tendency of the poor laws is to encourage marriage; but a closer inspection to all their indirect as well as direct effects, may make it a matter of doubt to what extent they really do this," in a note he adds,

"the most favourable light in which the poor laws can possibly be placed, is to say, that, under all the circumstances with which they have been accompanied, they do not *much* encourage marriage; and undoubtedly the returns of the population act, seem to warrant the assertion."*

Without parish relief, the parents of the proscribed children would be compelled to work for that rate of wages which would scantily furnish them with potatoes without salt, and in a little time the number of people in this condition would be so large, that, by underselling other labourers, the whole would be reduced to the same or nearly the same state of absolute misery. Once reduced to this state, any improvement in their condition would be almost hopeless, since they would become ignorant, stupid, and brutish. They would be soon reduced to the state in which several parts of Ireland are now found. Mr. Wakefield and other accurate observers have remarked, that, where the use of the potatoe has become general, and where poverty has deprived the people of other sustenance, diseases have increased, and their physical powers have declined.†

Mr. Malthus has evidently some forebodings, that his proposal will not be found "adequate to the end proposed," although it might reduce the

* Vol. iii. p. 374.

† Wakefield's Ireland, vol. ii. p. 718, et seq.

poor's rate. He says, "the abolition of the poor laws, however, is not of itself sufficient, and the obvious answer to those who lay too much stress upon this system is, to desire them to look at the state of the poor in some other countries where such laws do not prevail, and to compare it with their condition in England. But this comparison, it must be acknowledged, is in many respects unfair; and would by no means decide the question of the utility or inutility of such a system." * This may be admitted, but his proposal as a "*preliminary step*," would probably produce much such a state as Mr. Rose has described as existing in the north of Italy. Among other relations, is the following:

"As at Padua and elsewhere, you are beset by beggars in Coffee houses, and hung upon in the market-place. Words are wanting to paint the poverty of this people in colours which could give you some idea of the reality. It is a spectre which breaks in upon you in the solitude of the fields, it crosses and blasts you amidst the crowds of gaiety and dissipation.

"I mentioned, in my preceding letter, having once found a poor child lying on the ground, under the infliction of an ague fit; at a little distance was seated a small circle of young children, who were eating a mess of panada, (bread boiled in broth or water, with an infusion of oil

* Vol. iii. p. 190.

or butter,) with a single wooden spoon, which circulated, as in the romance of Vathek, round the little group. I conjured this ring of ragged fairies in such terms as I could, and give you the results of the questions and answers:

" Is that your brother lying under the sack?

(*The eldest.*) Yes, Sir.

What is the matter with him?

He has the fever, Sir.

Why don't you put him in some dry place?

We don't know where to find one, Sir.

Why, where do you sleep?

In an empty stable, Sir; and I will put him there.

Where are your father and mother?

Our mother is dead, and our father begs, or does such little chance jobs as offer in the hotel.

And what do you do?

I get up the trees here, and pick vine leaves for the waiters to stop the decanters with, and they give us our panada.

" Had my pecuniary means been adequate to my desire to diminish this mass of misery, how was the thing to be accomplished! *I do not believe I could have found a family that would have boarded these melancholy little mendicants, and am quite sure that no one would have had the patience to bear with the waywardness of sickly childhood,* or rack their inventions to reconcile and familiarize it to a remedy, against which even the strongest constitution revolts. In *England, the parish work-*

house, or some neighbouring hospital, would have afforded a ready resource."*

This would be too much for the humanity of the people of this country; and private benevolence in a multiplicity of forms would supply the place of public charity, and thus still further degrade the working man; while, so far as the children of the poor were concerned, little upon the whole would be saved in point of expense to the nation. "In most countries," (Mr. Malthus observes,) "among the lower classes of people, there appears to be something like a standard of wretchedness, a point below which they will not continue to marry and propagate their species; this standard is different in different countries, and is formed by various concurring circumstances, of soil, climate, government, degree of knowledge and civilization, &c."† Mr. Malthus admits, that "throughout a very large class of the people, a decided taste for the conveniencies and comforts of life, a strong desire of bettering their condition, *that master-spring of public prosperity*, and in consequence *a most laudable spirit of industry and foresight are observed to prevail.*"‡ But his proposal would reduce the standard of wretchedness to the very lowest point, destroy the "laudable spirit of industry and foresight," and produce unheard of wretchedness. Mr. Malthus must, however, be acquitted of any

* Letters from the North of Italy. — Letter the xi. on the extreme misery of the lower orders in Italy, vol. i. p. 28.

† Essay, vol. iii. p. 209. ‡ Vol. iii. p. 191.

design to do injury to the working people—he says distinctly, that he is opposed to any thing which has a tendency, however remote, to degrade them. In his remarks on some of Mr. Arthur Young's proposals, he observes, "as it is acknowledged that the introduction of milk and potatoes, or of cheap soups, as the general food of the lower classes of people, would lower the price of labour, perhaps some cold politician might propose to adopt the system with a view of underselling foreigners in the markets of Europe. I should not envy the feelings which could suggest such a proposal. I really cannot conceive any thing much more detestable, than the idea of knowingly condemning the labourers of this country to the *rags and wretched cabins of Ireland*,* for the purpose of selling a few more broad cloths and calicoes. *The wealth and power of nations are, after all, only desirable as they contribute to happiness.*"† Those, therefore, who accuse Mr. Malthus of a *desire* to degrade the people, are bound to report him fairly, and not to select those passages only which have a tendency, real or apparent, to injure the poor man, as proofs of Mr. Malthus's design to injure him. That the poor laws have degraded the working people, can scarcely be doubted by any one who takes a large view of the subject. Mr. Godwin, however, thinks otherwise. This I regret, knowing as I do his ardent desire to see the

* See More on the State of Ireland, in chap. ix

† Vol. iii. p. 252.

greatest possible improvement of the people, both morally and physically. He says, however, that "he declines to pronounce judgment upon the poor laws,"* yet the bearing of many passages in his book is clearly in their favour.

But the proposals of Mr. Malthus, to persuade the poor that they have no right to eat—and to exclude from parish aid the children born from future marriages, as well as Mr. Godwin's infanticide, are all of them proposals to commence at the wrong end. The remedy can alone be found in preventives, as will be further shown in the following section.

* Reply, p. 560.

CHAPTER VI.

MEANS OF PREVENTING THE NUMBERS OF MANKIND FROM INCREASING FASTER THAN FOOD IS PROVIDED.

SECTION II.

STATE OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND REGARDING THE MEANS OF PREVENTING THEIR INCREASE FASTER THAN FOOD.

In his account of the working people, and in his suggestions for their advantage, Mr. Malthus has frequently obscured his statements and propositions with a multitude of words, and has drawn the attention of his readers from the contemplation of the plainest truths, and the consideration of the most wholesome remedies, to that of tropes and figures. On many occasions when speaking of the condition of the working people, he calls to his aid "nature, providence, God, the King and country," &c. and talks as familiarly of them as he could have done had he really clear ideas of his subject, which he has not, and had there also been a previous agreement between him and the working people that his assertions should be received as precise facts.

We have already seen what he says of "the law of nature, being the law of God," in respect to the right of the poor to eat, and of our "being bound

in honour" to refuse parish aid. Speaking of the poor man marrying, he says, "he has always been told, that to raise up subjects for his *King* and *country* was a meritorious act; he has done this and yet is suffering for it, and it cannot but strike him as most extremely cruel in his *King* and *country* to allow him to suffer for giving them what they are continually declaring they particularly want."* This is quite new to me. I thought I was pretty well acquainted with the working people, yet I never heard any one of them talk in this way. I have heard it said on some particular occasions, as an antidote to despair, "that God never sends mouths, but he sends meat;" but they are not quite so uninformed and ignorant as to talk of the King and country in the way Mr. Malthus has made them. I have heard them, and do still hear them complain of the oppressive conduct of all above them, particularly of the rich and powerful, whom they but too justly accuse of imagining they have a distinct and separate interest, which can best be promoted by the debasement of the people, as some of the opponents of Mr. Malthus have taken much pains practically, as well as theoretically, to prove they have. I have heard them allege as proofs of the conspiracy of the rich to depress the poor, their excluding them from voting for members of the House of Commons, of the laws of settlement, of the payment of wages from the poor rates, of the heavy taxes laid on the necessaries of life, of the

* Vol. iii. p. 108.

laws which forbid them leaving the country, when they can no longer maintain themselves in it, of the laws, which, by prohibiting the import and export of commodities, injure manufactures and commerce, of the law of impressment, which is confined exclusively to their class, of the laws against the combination of workmen to raise their money wages, and of the laws which tend to make corn dear; of all these things they complain, and of most of them they may surely complain without being thought very unreasonable. If, however, none of these causes of complaint existed, it is still possible that the increase of people might have been too rapid, and thus have brought the labouring man into the miserable situation in which we find him. But then he would not have had, as he now has, those aggravations of his misery for ever present to his mind, which, by accounting to him for his degradation and want of the means of comfortable subsistence, prevent him from seeing the fundamental cause of his poverty in the too rapid increase of the people. Mr. Malthus hardly ever alludes to these causes of complaint, or his allusions are so very general, or their application so very remote, as scarcely to be observed. In one place, however, he is a little more particular. He says, says, "the poor man *accuses the insufficiency of the price of labour to maintain a family*, he *accuses the parish* for its tardy assistance, he accuses the rich of suffering him to want what they can well spare, he accuses the partial and unjust institutions of society, he accuses perhaps the dis-

pensations of Providence."* Thus he is held out as a seditious grumbler, if not a blasphemer, without sufficient cause for his grumbling, whereas it has been shown that he really has much cause for complaint. He is, however, according to Mr. Malthus, "to be spoken to in *the language of nature.* He is to be told that *his* King and country do not want more subjects, that *he* is not fulfilling a duty to society by marrying, that he is *acting directly contrary to the will of God, and his repeated admonitions.*" What Mr. Malthus calls the "*language of nature,*" is the language he has here used. Was there ever any thing more absurd? The "*country*" does not want more "*subjects:*" what can be more nonsensical? and the poor wretch is to believe that he has the power to contravene "*the will of God.*" This exordium is followed by a castigation in the "language of nature" too, for his "idleness and improvidence." Idle he is not, improvident he generally is, to some extent, and it can hardly be otherwise. He must spend an odd sixpence or a shilling now and then, although he had certainly better save it. But as to his idleness—all the work is done that is desired to be done; and there he stands, ready and willing to be engaged to do the hardest, the most disgusting, and the most destructive kind of work.

He is not, however, dissolute. Some men are idle, some are dissolute, but the number of these among the working people in this country is very small; and it is quite time that those who wish to

* Vol. iii. p. 107.

see the people wise, virtuous, and happy, should acquire correct notions on this important subject, and cease to calumniate and libel the working man. Such men as Mr. Malthus, have not had the opportunity of judging correctly of the working people; his own notions, his rank in life, his very profession, and their reserve and suspicion have all conspired to prevent him. He has not been into workshops and trade-societies, on a footing of equality for considerable periods of time. He has not had opportunities of seeing the labouring people congregated, and of observing their manners, and hearing their unrestrained conversation. He can know but little of the shifts continually made to preserve a decent appearance. Of the privations endured, of the pains and sorrows which the working people suffer in private, of the truly wonderful efforts long continued, even in the most hopeless circumstances, which vast numbers of them make "to keep their heads above water." Mr. Malthus has seen, every body has seen, the conduct of the dissolute among the labouring classes; they are open to continual observation, and the whole are condemned, unjustly enough, for the errors and crimes of the few. In the other classes of society, a dissolute course does not so invariably lead to extreme poverty, neither is it so apparent to all the world; but I will venture to assert, that, if any other class were to be judged of by its dissolute members, either as to numbers or extent of dissolute conduct, proportionably, that its character would be equally bad, if not worse than that of the work-

ing people; among whom I do not include (neither ought they ever to be included) that class of wretched beings who seldom or never labour, but live or linger on in existence by the habitual practice of vice, and the perpetration of crime. Of the virtues of the working people it is not possible for Mr. Malthus to be accurately informed, for they are unobtrusive, and must be sought out. But although Mr. Malthus is necessarily deficient in knowledge on these points, I at least may make some pretension to better information. A hired workman myself for several years, enjoying the confidence of large bodies of workmen, an active promoter and conductor of trade-societies during those years, and an encourager of them to the present hour, I have had opportunities of *seeing* and *feeling*, and knowing most intimately, the characters and habits, the virtues and vices, the pleasures and pains, the joys and sorrows, of large masses of the population, and may still claim a sympathy with them, which I feel will never be eradicated. How then, I ask, can these be taught by those who are ignorant of their habits, and do not understand their real situation, who confound them with those whom they themselves despise, who suppose them infinitely less intelligent, less honest, less disposed to be virtuous, and less willing to be instructed than they really are; who attribute to them the most puerile notions, address them in the language of children, or goad them like slaves, who accuse them of making complaints they do not make, and pay no attention to those they do make?

CHAPTER VI.

MEANS OF PREVENTING THE NUMBERS OF MANKIND FROM INCREASING FASTER THAN FOOD IS PROVIDED.

SECTION III.

IDEAS OF THE AUTHOR RELATIVE TO THE MEANS OF PREVENTING THE PEOPLE FROM INCREASING FASTER THAN FOOD.

In the preceding section we have seen one set of propositions, and one mode of teaching the people pointed out. Mr. Malthus, as has been shown, insisted that, as previous steps, the poor should be convinced they have no *right* to eat when out of employment, and that we are bound in justice and honour formally to disclaim their right to support, and these proposals if adopted, he tells us, would unite the rich and the poor more closely. The futility of these modes of teaching and uniting have been already shown. We will now proceed to examine another set of propositions, which, if well understood and steadily acted upon, would render the former propositions altogether unnecessary. They are, to be sure, somewhat at variance with the former propositions, but this is by no means an uncommon occurrence in the work of Mr. Malthus.

Many of the facts and observations to be found in the work of Mr. Malthus, are of the greatest importance, but to make them useful to the high as well as to the low, they should be arranged so as to form a whole, and not be scattered through the work. They should be elucidated in the plainest manner, their practical consequences should be shown, as well as the way in which those consequences are to be brought about. The *higher* classes are quite as ignorant as the *lower* classes, and the middle classes are by no means too well-informed on the subject of population. Mr. Malthus himself has produced evidence of this. "It is," he says, "of the utmost importance, that the gentlemen of the country, and particularly the clergy, should not from *ignorance* aggravate the evils of scarcity every time that it unfortunately occurs. During the dearths of 1800 and 1801, half the gentlemen and clergymen in the kingdom richly deserved to have been prosecuted for sedition. After inflaming the minds of the common people against the farmers and corn-dealers, by the manner in which they talked of them or preached about them, it was but a feeble antidote to the poison they had infused, coldly to observe, that, however the poor might be oppressed or cheated, it was their duty to keep the peace."* Mr. Malthus observes, that "it does not seem entirely visionary to suppose, that if the true and permanent causes of poverty were clearly explained, and forcibly brought home to each man's bosom, it would have some and perhaps a conside-

* Vol. iii. p. 202, Note.

rable influence on his conduct, at least *the experiment has never yet been fairly tried.*"* "We must explain to them the true nature of their situation, and show them that the withholding the supplies of labour, is the only possible way of really raising its price, and that they themselves being the possessors of the commodity, have alone the power to do this."†—"We cannot justly accuse them of improvidence, and want of industry, (although he has himself accused them,) till they act as they now do, after it has been brought home to their comprehensions, that they are themselves the cause of their own poverty, that the means of redress are in their own hands, and in the hands of no other persons whatever.‡" This is all excellent; and thus has Mr. Malthus replied to himself, and proved the absurdity and cruelty of the propositions before noticed. Were what he has here proposed but properly followed up, no doubt need be entertained of a remedy. He goes on—"The population once overtaken by an increased quantity of food, and by proportioning the population to the food, we are not to relax our efforts to increase the quantity of food, and thus unite the two grand desiderata, a great actual population, and a state of society in which abject poverty and dependence are comparatively but little known; two objects which are far from being incompatible."§

* Vol. iii. p. 108.
† Vol. iii. p. 114.
‡ Vol. iii. p. 108.
§ Vol. iii p. 113.

"This once effected, it (population) might then start afresh, and continue increasing for ages with the increase of food, maintaining always the same relative proportion to it. I can conceive that this country, with a proper direction of the national industry, might in the course of some centuries contain two or three times its present population, and yet every man be much better fed, clothed (and he might have added instructed), than he is at present."*

"The prudential restraint from marriage, if it were generally adopted, by narrowing the supply of labour in the market, would soon raise its price. The period of delayed gratification would be passed in saving the earnings which were above the wants of a single man, and in acquiring habits of sobriety, industry, and economy, which would enable him in a few years to enter into the matrimonial contract without fear of its consequences. The operation of the preventive check in this way, by constantly keeping the population within the limits of the food, though constantly following its increase, would give a real value to the rise of wages. As the wages of labour would thus be sufficient to maintain a large family, every married couple would set out with a sum for contingencies, all abject poverty would be removed from society, or would be confined to a very few who had fallen into misfortunes, against which no prudence or foresight could provide."†

* Vol. iii. p. 116. † Vol. iii. p. 86.

Yet, notwithstanding these and similar passages, Mr. Godwin accuses Mr. Malthus of being the enemy of the working man, "and *always* an advocate for low wages." Mr. Godwin, in his former reply, dwelt much upon the same topics as those which have just been noticed, but he brought his subject more home to the immediate attention of his readers, and did not obscure his statement by extraneous or irrelevant matter.

"Let us suppose (he says) that population was at this moment in England, or elsewhere, so far advanced, that the *public welfare* demanded that it should not increase."* Mr. Godwin enters into some calculations, to show how many would probably marry, and how many children each marriage *might be permitted to produce;* he then observes, that "The prejudice which at present prevails against a single life, and the notion so generally received, that a man or woman without progeny has failed in discharging one of their unquestionable duties to society, frightens many men and women into an inclination towards the marriage state. This prejudice the doctrines of the Essay on Population, when they shall come to be generally diffused and admitted, will tend to remove. If this subject were further pursued, it would lead to many observations and details, curious and important in their nature, but which would prove repulsive to the general reader, and would more properly find a place in a treatise on medicine or animal economy.†

* First Reply, p. 68. † Ib. p. 69.

"*Another check* upon increasing population, *which operates very powerfully and extensively* in the country we inhabit, is that sentiment, whether virtue, prudence, or pride, which continually restrains the universality and frequent repetition of the marriage contract. Early marriages in this country, between a grown-up boy and girl, are of uncommon occurrence. Every one, possessed in the most ordinary degree of the gift of foresight, deliberates long before he engages in so momentous a transaction. He asks himself, again and again, how he shall be able to subsist the offspring of his union. I am persuaded, it very rarely happens in England that a marriage takes place, without this question having first undergone a repeated examination. There is a very numerous class in every great town, clerks to merchants and lawyers, journeymen in shops, and others, who either never marry, or refrain from marriage, till they have risen through the different gradations of their station to that degree of comparative opulence, which, they think, authorises them to take upon themselves the burthen of a family. *It is needless to remark, that where marriage takes place at a later period of life, the progeny may be expected to be less numerous.* If the check from virtue, prudence, or pride, operates less in the lower classes of life than in the class last described, it is that the members of those classes are rendered desperate by the oppression under which they groan; they have no character of prudence or reflection to support, and they have

nothing of that pride, arising from what is called the decent and respectable appearance a man makes among his neighbours, which should enable them to suppress the first sallies of passion, and the effervescence of a warm constitution."* Mr. Godwin anticipates the operation of the preventive check in an improved state of society, in which "The doctrines of the Essay on Population, if they be true, as I have no doubt that they are, will be fully understood, and in which no man would be able to live without character and the respect of his neighbours."† In such a state of society, the checks alluded to by Mr. Godwin would, no doubt, be sufficient, without resorting to infanticide. Mr. Malthus has also drawn a picture of an improved state of society, which, he thinks, may be realized, "in which there would be no improvident marriages, which would remove one of the principal causes of offensive war, and eradicate these two fatal disorders, internal tyranny and interal tumult, which mutually produce each other. Indisposed to a war of offence, in a war of defence, such a society would be strong as a rock of adamant. Where every family possessed the necessaries of life in plenty, and a decent portion of its comforts and conveniencies, there could not exist that desire for change, or, at best, that melancholy and disheartening indifference to it, which sometimes prompts the lower classes of the people to say, "Come what will, we can't be worse off."‡

* First Reply, p. 72. † Ib. p. 74.

‡ Essay, vol. iii. p. 99.

"The master-spring of public prosperity," as Mr. Malthus has properly enough called the love of distinction; the hope of rising, and the fear of falling in the world, and in the moral estimation of his neighbours; "the decent pride," and the effect it produces, which has been so well spoken of by Mr. Godwin, and to which my intercourse with the world enables me to bear witness, and which would, no doubt, be equally efficacious among the commonest mechanics and labourers; if without any thing which should have the appearance of immediate self-interest in the teacher, at the expence of the scholar; if without what to the people may appear like canting; if without airs of superiority and dictation; if without figure and metaphor, means were adopted to show them how the market came to be overstocked with labour; that this was the cause of the low rate of wages — that it was impossible for real wages to rise, so as to enable them to live in comfort while they continued to keep the supply above the demand; — if it were clearly shown to them, that inevitable poverty and misery would result from marrying and having a family while this state of things continued; if familiar instances were collected of the poverty and misery, the crime and disgrace, to which indiscreet marriages too frequently led; if it were shown, that overstocking the market, even in a small degree, with labour, inevitably deteriorated the condition of every working man; — if all this were clearly and familiarly shown, on the one side, and if, on the

other, it was as clearly shown, that by abstaining from marriage for even a few years, the supply of labour might be brought rather under the demand; that, when so, its price, like that of bread, or meat, or potatoes, when scarce, would rise, and might, by their abstinence from marriage, be raised so high as to enable them to maintain themselves respectably, and give many of them a fair chance of rising in the world;—if a hundredth, perhaps a thousandth part of the pains, were taken to teach these truths that are taken to teach dogmas, a great change for the better might, in no considerable space of time, be expected to take place in the appearance and the habits of the people. If, above all, it were once clearly understood, that it was not disreputable for married persons to avail themselves of such precautionary means as would, without being injurious to health, or destructive of female delicacy, prevent conception, a sufficient check might at once be given to the increase of population beyond the means of subsistence; vice and misery, to a prodigious extent, might be removed from society, and the object of Mr. Malthus, Mr. Godwin, and of every philanthropic person, be promoted, by the increase of comfort, of intelligence, and of moral conduct, in the mass of the population.

The course recommended will, I am fully persuaded, at some period be pursued by the people, even if left to themselves. The intellectual progress they have for several years past been making, the desire for information of all kinds, which is

abroad in the world, and particularly in this country, cannot fail to lead them to the discovery of the true causes of their poverty and degradation, not the least of which they will find to be in overstocking the market with labour, by too rapidly producing children, and for which they will not fail to find and to apply remedies.

"One objection to decreasing the supply of labour (says Mr. Malthus) which perhaps will be made, is, that *from which alone it derives its value —a market rather understocked with labour.* This must undoubtedly take place to a certain degree, but by no means in such a degree as to affect the wealth and prosperity of the country. But putting this subject of a market understocked in the most unfavourable point of view, if the rich will not submit to a slight inconvenience, necessarily attendant on what they profess to desire, they cannot really be in earnest in their professions. Their benevolence to the poor must be either childish play or hypocrisy; it must be either to amuse themselves, or to pacify the minds of the common people with a mere show of attention to their wants. To wish to better the condition of the poor, by enabling them to command a greater quantity of the necessaries and comforts of life, and then to complain of high wages, is the act of a silly boy, who gives his cake and then cries for it. *A market overstocked with labour, and an ample remuneration to each labourer, are objects perfectly incompatible with each other.* In the annals of the world they never existed together;

and to couple them even in imagination, betrays a gross ignorance of the simplest principles of political economy." *

This is all very true; but hitherto the conduct of the rich has not only been quite as absurd as has been described, but it has also been directly in opposition to their professions. The very men who pretended to be most desirous to better the condition of the poor man, even while they were making professions to serve him, took the advantage the laws gave them to prevent even the remote possibility of a labouring man becoming chargeable to a parish, to which he did not at the moment belong by acquiring a legal settlement; and when a man was found likely to obtain a new settlement, he was either expelled the parish, or transported back to his own; no matter what were his prospects, or how well soever he was doing; it was quite enough that in the opinion of the magistrates he might some day become chargeable to the parish in which he resided, if allowed to make a settlement. Thus he was imprisoned in his own parish. Having got him into this state, the next thing was to reduce him as low as possible, and to keep him so. For this purpose, the land-owners, magistrates, and principal farmers openly combined, and formed what the law in the case of the labourer treats as a conspiracy; and having, in their capacity of conspirators, ascertained the smallest quantity of food necessary to keep the male human animal in barely working condition, this they said,

* Essay, vol. iii. p. 11.

or its equivalent in money, should be the wages paid to him;* if he chose to marry and have children, then he was to receive from the parish "*a gallon loaf for feed, and 3d. in money for clothes, for his wife, and for each of his children once a week.*" But as this would not afford assistance to any of his family in sickness, he was to look for aid to private benevolence. But if at any time he dared to complain, he was to be punished; if he congregated, or made an attempt to congregate, for the purpose of preventing his own degradation, he was prosecuted as a felon, and told from the seat of justice, by the mouth of an English judge, that "*his crime was worse than felony, and as bad as murder,*" and sentenced to two years solitary confinement, separated from his family, and in some cases almost entirely debarred from even a knowledge of the deplorable distress and misery to which his unjust and cruel sentence had been the means of reducing them.

This has been the justice meted out by the rich to the poor; this the intelligible proof of their desire, when associated together, to improve the condition of the working man. This is the practical lesson many are at the present moment learning in different gaols; this is the recompence they have received at the hands of the rich, for attempting to perform their moral duties; and this is the way, or,

* About twenty years ago a meeting so composed was held in Berkshire, and a table of wages, calculated by the price of bread, in order to ascertain the money-wages to be paid, was published, with a recommendation to those whom it might concern, not to pay more than was allowed by the table.

rather, one of the ways, the rich have taken to "draw the bonds of society closer." Such were the laws the British legislature thought it wise to enact, and such the proceedings under them which they sanctioned. Have not the poor, then, a right to complain? Can it be of any use to preach to people thus treated, of the *law of nature excluding them from all claim to support* under any circumstances? Will they believe, merely because they are told so, that these barbarous laws, savage denunciations, cruel sentences, and conspiracies to degrade and pauperize them, are any thing but wanton outrages of power; and ought any man to expect they will be operated upon by those whom they have but too much reason to believe are their decided enemies, whenever their pride, their ignorance, and love of power, induce them to suppose they have an interest in doing them mischief? Do they not know, that the whole practice of the government, in respect to them, has been, and still is, an attempt to keep down the wages of labour? Do they not know that this has all along been recommended to the government, by the gentry, the magistrates, and the great manufacturers? Do they not know that it has been the intention of all above them to reduce them to the most abject state of dependence? Do they not know that, while they are preached to, as it were, with one hand, they are scourged with the other? Do they not know that no attempt has been made to lead them, but that on all occasions they have been driven? That the laws and the magistrates have always treated them

as a seditious, dishonest, covetous, dissolute set of brutes, and that they have never been recognized in any other capacity?* Yes, all this they know,

* Among a thousand instances which might be given, the act of the 1st and 2d of the King, called the New Vagrant Act, may be cited as the most recent instance of unwise legislation. Under this act, if a man cannot find employment in his own parish, and either does not choose to become a pauper, or to remain one, but laudably endeavours to remove himself to some other place, in the hope of being able to maintain himself by the labour of his hands; if a man so circumstanced should fail to obtain employment, until his poverty had compelled him to commit an act, which any Justice of the Peace should deem to be an act of vagrancy, he may commit him to prison for any time not less than one month, nor more than three months, and there keep him to hard labour on the gaol allowance. A little time ago two men were brought before one of the Aldermen of the City of London; they had been found sleeping in the sheep pens in Smithfield Market. One of them stated that he was a furrier, and had travelled all the way from Alnwick in Northumberland, seeking employment in his business; he had endeavoured to obtain work all along the road, but without success, and had never been in London before. The other said that he had been shopman to a grocer in Shropshire, but having been long out of employment, had come to London in the hope of obtaining it. Both begged to be discharged, and promised to make their way home again in the best way they could; but to this request the magistrate would not accede. The act allows two magistrates to pass vagrants to their respective parishes at once, if they think the case requires it. The Alderman therefore, as this was the first case which had occurred under the act, carried it before the Lord Mayor. The Alderman observed that he did not like to form a precedent for his brother magistrates, yet he felt it was necessary that a rule should be laid down which might be uniformly adhered to in all future cases of this nature. In the present case he was of opinion the *prisoners* were *not justified* in coming to town without any pros-

and much more, and nothing can be so absurd as to expect their confidence can be obtained by those who treat them thus, whose pretensions to do them service are "*either childish play or hypocrisy.*"

Three things must be done, if there be where there ought to be a real desire to better the condition of the working people.

1. A repeal of all the laws relating to the combinations of workmen to increase their wages. No good reason has been or can be given for restrain-

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pect before them, for they *must* have known that, in the present state of trade, no one would take them in, nor indeed would any one be justified in taking in a perfect stranger; and, therefore, they *must have been aware that they would ultimately become burthensome to the district where they fell. But whether their conduct arose solely from ignorance or not, he considered was immaterial;* the magistrates could not know their minds, and could make no distinction.

The Lord Mayor agreed with the Alderman. The City Magistrates wished it to be known in the country at large, that in future they should feel themselves *bound to send all to hard labour for the term enacted, whether they were actuated by a vicious spirit of vagabondage, or with whatever professed object or speculation they came to town.* In short, *they would put the law in full force against all who could not prove reasonable assurance, or certainty of obtaining employment, as their motive for coming to London.* The men were passed home to their respective parishes. No comment is necessary, on a law which authorizes a magistrate to tell a labourer, or a journeyman mechanic, that if unable to live by the labour of his hands in his own parish, he seek it in another, and failing to obtain it, commits an act of vagrancy, he shall be punished as severely as he would be, after he had been convicted of one among many crious crimes. But it may be asked, if this be not one of those laws which induce men to commit crimes?

ing the workmen and their employers from making their bargains in their own way, as other bargains are made.

2. A repeal of the laws restraining emigration. These laws might all be repealed at once.

3. To repeal, as rapidly as possible, all restrictive laws on trade, commerce, and manufactures,* and particularly the corn laws.

Before, however, the latter sentence could be well pronounced, the rich, it might be expected, would rise in arms against both the proposition and the proposer. This would, however, only prove how very far we are from the desirable state contemplated, inasmuch as it depends upon the rich. If, however, the rich are not disposed to take this course, they, of all men, ought to cease complaining of the conduct of the poor, and the pressure of the poor's rate.

Were those in whose hands the power is held, to show a sincere desire to do but bare justice to the working people, they would find them not the last to acknowledge the intended benefit. They would be the first, not only to acknowledge the benefit intended them, but eagerly desirous to become acquainted with the truths on which their welfare so materially depends.

* There would be less difficulty and less inconvenience in carrying this recommendation into effect than is generally supposed. The committee of the House of Commons on "the depressed state of agriculture," says, "It may well be doubted whether, with the exception of silk, any of our considerable manufactures derive benefit from the *assumed protection* in the markets of this country." Report, folio 23.

Mr. Malthus seems to shrink from discussing the propriety of preventing conception, not so much it may be supposed from the abhorrence which he or any reasonable man can have to the practice, as from the possible fear of encountering the prejudices of others, has, towards the close of his work, resolved all his remedies into one, the efficacy of which he has all along doubted, and on which he seems afraid to rely. "He candidly confesses that if the people cannot be persuaded to defer marriage till they have a fair prospect of being able to maintain a family, *all our* former *efforts will be thrown away. It is not in the nature of things, that any permanent general improvement in the condition of the poor can be effected without an increase in the preventive check.** Nothing can be more true than the concluding clause of the sentence quoted, and we need give ourselves no further trouble to discuss the propriety or cruelty either of infanticide, or excluding children from parish aid. Neither would be adequate to the end proposed, and neither are likely to be adopted. Mr. Malthus confesses that his proposal to exclude them would not remove the evil, and both he and Mr. Godwin have declared that the true remedy can alone be found in preventives. It is nothing to the purpose that Mr. Godwin has, at length, persuaded himself that "we have more reason to fear a decrease than to expect an increase of people." It is time, however, that those who really understand the cause of

* Essay, vol. iii. p. 290

a redundant, unhappy, miserable, and considerably vicious population, and the means of preventing the redundancy, should clearly, freely, openly, and fearlessly point out the means. It is "childish" to shrink from proposing or developing any means, however repugnant they may at first appear to be; our only care should be, that we do not in removing one evil introduce another of greater magnitude. He is a visionary who expects to remove vice altogether, and he is a driveller who, because he cannot accomplish what is impossible to be accomplished, sets himself down and refrains from doing the good which is in his power.

One circumstance deserves notice, as an objection which will probably be made—would not incontinence be increased, if the means recommended were adopted? I am of opinion it would not; so much depends on manners, that it seems to be by no means an unreasonable expectation that if these were so improved, as greatly to increase the prudential habits, and to encourage the love of distinction, "the master spring of public prosperity," and if, in consequence of the course recommended, all could marry early, there would be less debauchery of any kind. An improvement in manners would be an improvement in morals; and it seems absurd to suppose an increase of vice with improved morals. Mr. Malthus has, however, set the question of continence in a very clear point of view; he says, "it may be objected, that, by endeavouring to urge the duty of moral restraint" "we may increase the quantity of vice relating to the sex.

I should be extremely sorry to say any thing which could either directly or remotely be construed unfavourably to the cause of virtue; but *I certainly cannot think that the vices which relate to the sex are the only vices which are to be considered in a moral question, or that they are even the greatest and most degrading to the human character.* They can rarely or never be committed without producing unhappiness somewhere or other, and, therefore, ought always to be strongly reprobrated. But there are other vices, the effects of which are still more pernicious; and there are other situations which lead more certainly to moral offences than refraining from marriage. *Powerful as may be the temptations to a breach of chastity, I am inclined to think that they are impotent in comparison with the temptations arising from continued distress.* A large class of women and many men, I have no doubt, pass a considerable part of their lives consistently with the laws of chastity; but I believe *there will be found very few who pass through the ordeal of squalid and* HOPELESS *poverty, or even of long-continued embarrassed circumstances, without a great moral degradation of character.*"*

The most effectual mode of diminishing promiscuous intercourse is marriage, if all could be married while young, with reasonable hopes that propriety of conduct and a fair share of industry would save them from degradation, and the multiplied evils of the wretched poverty which exist in a poor

* Essay, vol. iii. p. 117.

man's family, and which, although much talked about, cannot be fully appretiated, even by the imagination of those whose situation precludes them from witnessing those evils for any long-continued period, as well as from feeling them.* If means were adopted to prevent the breeding of a larger number of children than a married couple might desire to have, and if the labouring part of the population could thus be kept below the demand for labour, wages would rise so as to afford the means of comfortable subsistence for all, and all might marry. Marriage,

* Abject poverty sometimes paralizes all exertion, destroys all hope. The extent to which it produces hard-heartedness, and extinguishes even the love of parents for their offspring, would scarcely be believed, without actual knowledge of the facts. I have known but too many instances. A few years ago, upon an investigation made from house to house, and from room to room, in the upper part of Drury Lane, and the courts and alleys adjoining, for the purpose of ascertaining the real state of the people, Mr. Edward Wakefield, one of the investigators, after reporting many instances, sums up his report by observing, that he "witnessed great wretchedness and misery, which appeared to be permanent. The unhealthy appearance of the majority of the children was too apparent; it would seem as if they came into the world to exist for a few years in a state of torture, since by no other name can I call the dirt, ignorance, want of food, and sickness, which I found to prevail."

Mr. Wakefield met with several parents evidently not bad people, yet so reckless, that all regard for themselves or their children was nearly or entirely extinguished. In a family where one child was dying and another sick, the father, who had not been always in extreme poverty, confessed that he had no hope of being able to bring up his family, and had made no application for medical aid, since death, he said, would be a relief both to the children and himself.

under these circumstances, would be, by far, the happiest of all conditions, as it would also be the most virtuous, and, consequently, the most beneficial to the whole community; the benefits which might reasonably be calculated upon are very extensive and very numerous; the poors rate would soon be reduced to a minimum, and the poor laws might, with the greatest ease, be remodeled and confined to the aged and helpless, or might, if it should appear advisable, be wholly abolished. Much even of that sort of promiscuous intercourse carried on by means of open prostitution, now so excessively and extensively pernicious, would cease, and means might be found which, without greatly infringing on personal freedom, might render so much of this sort of promiscuous intercourse, as could not be prevented, less pernicious, even to those females, the most degraded and most unfortunate of all human beings; a vast many of whom, in large towns, are doomed to continual prostitution, and of whom a very competent judge says, "With respect to the prostitutes, there are such innumerable instances of extreme misery, that I could almost cut my hand off, before I could commit so poor a wretch to additional misery; they are miserable in the extreme.—Within our present district of Westminster, or half way down the Strand, towards Temple Bar, there may every night be found above 500 to 1000 of that description of wretches. How they can gain any profit by their prostitution, one can hardly conceive; but they are the most hardened

and despicable of the whole, notwithstanding the misery which makes them objects of compassion."*

I cannot for a moment admit the observation, however general, of well meaning people to have any weight, namely, that we are not to mitigate, by means of regulations, such a horrid mass of misery, or remove, as much as is possible, the temptation to promiscuous intercourse, as it is now indulged in, an indulgence excessively pernicious to young men, and to which a prodigious number of young women are sacrificed, lest we should seem to countenance the course of life followed by common prostitutes. A large portion of the mischief done to society by these women, and the exceedingly gross and vicious conduct they adopt, might, to a considerable extent, be prevented, were we not restrained from making the attempt, by our mistaken apprehensions, that, by interfering, our virtuous notions might be deteriorated, and our detestation of vice be diminished. But as this, as well as many other vices, owes its extent, both as to enormity and number, to the too great proportional increase of population, its great corrective must be looked for in proportioning the labourers to the demand for labour, and to the increase of the means of subsistence.

There appears, upon a view of the whole case, no just cause for despair, but much for hope, that

* The late William Fielding, Esq., chief magistrate at the Police Office, Queen Square, Westminster, in his evidence before the Police Committee of the House of Commons, in 1817, fol. 405.

moral restraint will increase, and that such physical means of prevention will be adopted, as prudence may point out and reason may sanction, and the supply of labour be thus constantly kept below the demand for labour, and the amount of the population be always such as the means of comfortable subsistence can be provided for. The improvement which, under very adverse circumstances, the mass of the people have acquired the general desire for information which exists, and the means of instruction which have been of late adopted, would be increased, and would produce a high state of knowledge, of ease, and comfort, among all classes, and this country would attain an eminence in wealth, in strength, and in wisdom, far beyond any which has hitherto been known.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE POPULATION OF ENGLAND.

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTION. — FIRST HISTORICAL PERIOD. — THE BRITONS. — COUNTRY VERY THINLY INHABITED AT THE INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR. — SECOND HISTORICAL PERIOD. — THE ROMAN — POPULATION INCREASED. — THIRD HISTORICAL PERIOD. — THE SAXON AND DANISH — POPULATION PROBABLY NOT INCREASED. — ESTIMATED AT ABOUT 2,000,000 AT THE NORMAN CONQUEST IN 1066.

MR. GODWIN has laid much stress on the desolating effects of bad government, of war, pestilence, and famine, and has argued at some length the inability of the human race to keep up its numbers in the face of so many, and such terrible evils. Yet, with a strange inconsistency, he asserts in Chap. IV. Book III., that "*We have no certain reason to believe that England contains a greater number of inhabitants now, than it did in* 1339, *when Edward III. commenced his expedition for the conquest of France.*"*

Mr. Godwin has observed some caution in his mode of expression; he utters his words hesitatingly, introducing the passage thus:—"For instance, I will set it down that we have no certain

* Reply, Page 332.

reason," &c.; but he afterwards reasons on it as an historical fact. He was well aware that the devastations he had described were applicable, to a very great extent, to this country, from the first dawn of its history, and for a period of many hundreds of years, almost without interruption; and he has assigned no cause particularly exempting this country from the consequences of those devastations.

Few countries have suffered more in the repeated loss of its people than this country, none has from time to time more completely, or more rapidly, repaired the loss, and the history of no country furnishes so many facts, by which its progress in this respect may be judged of; none more proofs of the power of the "principle of population." The means of ascertaining the precise number of the people at particular times do not exist, neither are they necessary. But evidence that it could not exceed a certain number is abundant. As the detail may not be altogether uninteresting on other accounts, as well as in relation to the mere numbers of the people, I may expect to be excused for presenting so much of the evidence as I have judged necessary to lay before the reader.

Mr. Godwin thinks that this country could have maintained upwards of 10,000,000 of people five centuries ago, and that it did maintain that number. How so large a number could have been maintained, or how so large a number could have been produced amidst the terrible disasters of preced-

ing ages, Mr. Godwin gives himself no trouble to enquire; but he does most dogmatically assert, that the evils which have afflicted this country, since the year 1339, have been sufficient to prevent any further increase of the population.

Cæsar, speaking of England, says it contained a great multitude of people. But this must be admitted with caution, and his words taken in a very general sense, as implying a large number, when compared with the small number he expected to find in a country so very barbarous as England at that time was. Tacitus tells us, that Cæsar only made himself master of the sea-shore, the discoverer, not the conqueror, of the island; he only showed it to posterity. Cæsar says, the inhabitants of the inland country subsisted on their cattle, while those on the sea-shore were agriculturists; and this appellation even can be applied only to some of the inhabitants living south of the Thames. The great mass of the people lived in the woods, and on the borders of the forests, which overspread a large portion of the land. They appear to have been in a state of deplorable barbarism, without the knowledge necessary to enable them to construct a house of any kind, to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather. They grew no grain, had no fruits, no edible roots, neither did they cultivate any kind of culinary vegetables; clothed in skins, or not clothed at all, it required a large space for them and their cattle to roam in. In such a state, and in a country where, often for several weeks

together, the earth was covered with snow and bound by frost, overgrown with wood, and full of fens and marshes, it is quite impossible the people could be numerous, as compared either with the population at subsequent periods, or with the extent of land they occupied.

Tacitus says, the climate is unfavourable, always damp with rain, and overcast with clouds; and in another place he informs us, that the natives were a fierce and savage people, running wild in the woods; whence Agricola took much pains to allure them, and used all the means in his power to induce them to build houses, and to settle in towns and villages.

The first invasion of the Romans was about fifty-five years before the Christian æra, and they held it until A. D. 410. During this period a considerable advance was made towards civilization, and it has hitherto been supposed, notwithstanding the wars which the Romans waged with the nations before they were brought into subjection, that during the four centuries they held it, the population was considerably increased.

From the year 410, notwithstanding the Romans did not wholly withdraw their forces until the year 426 or 427, the country fell into the utmost disorder. The Picts and Scots, those merciless invaders, ravaged the country almost without opposition. The Romans had taken care to deprive the Britons of arms, and to prevent them being trained to their use. The native soldier was carefully removed, and sent into a dis-

tant province, and was never permitted to return home. So powerless, and timid, do the natives appear to have been, that when invaded by the Picts and Scots, they wholly abandoned the northern parts of the country to their desolating enemies. Both Gildas and Bede record the dissensions among them; and, notwithstanding the fictions with which Gildas has crammed his account, and the superstition and credulity of both those writers, enough may be collected from them, and from other sources, to enable us to judge of the terrible effects of their domestic contentions; famine and pestilence drove multitudes of men into the Roman legions, and destroyed still greater numbers of the people at home. Amidst this desolation, and to increase its horrors, the Picts and Scots passed the Humber, ravaging and destroying all before them; *nothing which could be destroyed was left, while the people of both sexes, and of all ages, were indiscriminately murdered.* Their principal object seems to have been, the extermination of those whom they considered foes.

Mr. Turner, in his excellent history of the Anglo Saxons, says, "The lamentations of Gildas concur with the obscure intimations of Nennius, to prove, that a considerable part of the interval, between the emancipation of the island and the arrival of the Saxons, was occupied with the contests of ambitious partisans."

"The country," says Gildas, "though weak against its foreign enemies, was brave and unconquerable in civil warfare. Kings were ap-

pointed, but not by God; they, who were more cruel than the rest, attained to the high dignity."

"With as little right or dignity as they derived their power, they lost it." — "They were killed, not from any examination of justice, and men more ferocious still, were elected in their place. If any one happened to be more virtuous or mild than the rest, every degree of hatred and enmity was heaped upon them." — "The clergy, too, partook of the contentions of the day." *

Half a century of such a state, as has been described, must have thinned the scanty population, and prepared the country for the Saxon domination which soon followed.

Worn out with miseries of various kinds, and in a state of despair, the Britons at length invited the Saxons to their assistance, the first body of whom landed in the Isle of Thanet in A. D. 449. They were followed by other bodies, who, making common cause against the Britons whom they came to assist, were soon found to be as bitter enemies as the Picts and Scots whom they had been invited to repel.

The character of these barbarians is fairly and ably drawn by Mr. Turner. "It would," he says, "be desirable to give a complete portrait of our ancestors in their uncivilized state. But our curiosity must submit to disappointment on this

* History of the Anglo Saxons, vol. i. p. 85. ed. ii, 4to.

subject. The converted Anglo-Saxon remembered the practices of his idolatrous ancestors with too much abhorrence to record them for the notice of future ages; and as we have no runic spells to call the Pagan warrior from his grave, we can only see him in those imperfect sketches which patient industry may collect, from the passages that are scattered in the works which time has spared. The character of the ancient Saxons displayed the qualities of fearless, active, and successful pirates. These ferocious qualities were nourished by the habit of indiscriminate depredation. It was from the cruelty and destructiveness, as well as from the suddenness of their incursions, that they were dreaded more than any other people. Like the Danes and Norwegians, their successors and assailants, they desolated where they plundered with the sword and flame. Their warfare did not originate from the more generous, or the more pardonable of man's evil passions. It was the offspring of the basest. Their swords were not unsheathed by ambition or revenge. The love of plunder and of cruelty, was their favourite habit; and hence they attacked indifferently every coast they could reach."* Again he says, "they were bands of fierce, ignorant, idolatrous, and superstitious pirates, enthusiastically courageous, but habitually cruel." Such were the people who possessed themselves of the south part of Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries. To check the ravages of

* Hist. Ang. Saxon, vol. ii. p. 1.

these ferocious people, the Britons invited Ambrosius, king of Armorica, who came over with a considerable body of warriors, between whom and the natives a war soon commenced, which was not appeased until both parties had suffered greatly, and a large portion of the country had been desolated. A series of war, rapine, and murder now commenced, and was carried on with little intermission, until, to escape total destruction, those of the natives who had not submitted to a state of slavery under the Saxons retired into Wales, leaving their invaders in possession of their country, which they divided into seven, as is generally related, but, as Mr. Turner has shown really, into eight separate kingdoms.

Of this octarchy, or heptarchy, little is known, except that there was almost perpetual war among themselves. In this age, Mr. Turner remarks, "when every man was a soldier, no conquest was permanent, no victor secure."

No sooner were the whole of the Saxon kingdoms united under one head, and, consequently, secured, it might be supposed, from invasion, than a new, a powerful and most destructive foe appeared in the Danes, who are described as invading the land with a fury almost without a parallel. "For two hundred years," says Rapin, "these new enemies were so determinately bent upon the ruin of the island, that it cannot be conceived, either how their country could supply them with troops for so long and bloody a war, or the English hold out against so many reiterated attacks."

Mr. Turner's description of the Saxon and Danish rovers is truly horrible, "The ferocity and useless cruelty," he observes, "of this race of beings almost transcends belief; besides the most savage food, (raw flesh and blood) they used to tear the infant from the mother's breast, and to toss it on their lances from one to another. Familiar with misery from their infancy, taught to value peaceful society, but as a rich harvest easier to be pillaged, knowing no glory but from the destruction of their fellow-creatures; all their habits, all their feelings, all their reasonings were ferocious; they sailed from country to country, not merely to plunder, but to murder or enslave its inhabitants. The flame and sword were unsparing assailants, and villages were converted into uninhabited deserts."* Such was the dismal state of society in the North, when these Scandinavian hordes invaded England.

Mr. Turner describes, in glowing language, the progress of these savages: "Of all the Anglo-Saxon governments, the kingdom of Northumbria had been always the most perturbed. Usurper murdering usurper is the prevailing incident. It was while this sanguinary drama was re-acting when, in A. D. 866, the Northmen first debarked in East Anglia, and to the miseries occasioned by the invaders, was added a great dearth. Two years afterwards "two of the most terrible calamities to mankind occurred; a great famine, and its inevit-

* Hist. Ang. Saxon, vol. i. p. 209.

able attendant, a mortality of cattle, and of the human race." The Northmen, who had possessed themselves of Nottingham, retreated beyond the Humber, and as the general misery presented no temptation to their rapacity, they remained a year in their Yorkshire stations. In A. D. 870, they again passed the Humber, and "from this period, language cannot describe their devastations. It can only repeat the words, plunder, murder, rape, famine, and distress. It can only enumerate towns, villages, churches and monasteries, harvests and libraries ransacked and burnt."* The progress of the Danes southward, was truly horrible. The Picts and Scots strove to exterminate the Britons, and the Danes, in their turn, strove to exterminate the Saxons, who, when favoured by fortune, retaliated on the merciless barbarians the cruelties they practised. At length, in A. D. 1014, the Danes succeeded in placing a king upon the throne, who died or was poisoned soon after his elevation, when the Saxon king, Ethelred II. was restored. He was succeeded by Edmund Ironside, who was assassinated by his brother-in-law in A. D. 1017; when Canute the Dane got possession of the throne, which he held till he died in A. D. 1036, and was succeeded by the Dane, Harold the First, who died in A. D. 1039. Canute the Second, another Dane, who was probably poisoned at a feast in A. D. 1041, when the crown once more

* Hist. Ang. Saxon, vol. i. p. 228.

reverted to the Saxon race, in which it remained until the invasion of the Normans in A. D. 1066.

Mr. Chalmers * remarks on the period of which a very faint outline has been drawn, that when the Romans left the island, "commenced a war of *six hundred years'* continuance, if we calculate the settlement of the Saxons, the ravages of the Danes, and the conquest of the Normans, *a course of hostilities lengthened beyond example*, and wasteful above description. It was, probably, he continues, a consideration of these events, with the wretched condition of every order of men, which induced the Lord Chief Justice Hale and Mr. Gregory King to agree in asserting, that *the people of England at the arrival of the Normans might be somewhat above two millions;* and the notices of that most instructive record, the Doomsday-book, seem to justify the conjectures of both, by the exhibition of satisfactory proofs of a scanty population at that memorable epoch in the country as well as in the towns." †

Whoever will take the trouble to examine the historical accounts which have come down to us respecting the manners, customs, and habits of the

* Estimate of the Strength of Great Britain, p. 4. ed. 1810.

† Among other particulars, the inquisitors were to enquire of, and to mention in, their returns, all the tenants of every degree, and what was the number of slaves.

No survey was made of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Durham, and part of Lancashire, they being in a miserable, waste, and desolate condition.

people, their modes of culture, and will survey the face of the country from the time the Romans left it to that when the Normans completed the desolation of the four northern counties, and will bear in mind that nearly the whole of the inhabitants must have consisted of Saxon, Danish, and Norman invaders, and the posterity of the two first-named people, will, probably, be satisfied, that the country could hardly contain "something more than 2,000,000 of people." This is one of the many dilemmas into which Mr. Godwin has led himself. Few men are perhaps better acquainted with the history of this country than Mr. Godwin; and it may be presumed, by me, at least, from what I know of Mr. Godwin's information on this subject, that he would not be disposed to estimate the population at a larger number.

Even to get to this conclusion it is necessary to believe, that at least 2,000,000 of persons had arrived from Scandinavia and settled in this country, besides the multitudes that perished, which, at 10,000 a year for six hundred years, would amount to 6,000,000; and one can hardly imagine that less than 10,000, including both parties, (excepting only the Britons,) were annually destroyed. If procreation kept up the numbers of the remainder of the people, it must, under such circumstances, have been very powerful indeed. Difficult as it is to believe that there were more than 2,000,000 at the time alluded to in this country, it is certain that victims were constantly furnished

in very large numbers, and that the country was not depopulated.

Taking then the population at something more than 2,000,000, we will proceed to enquire, what probability there was of their being increased to upwards of 10,000,000 in A. D. 1339.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE POPULATION OF ENGLAND.

SECTION II.

FOURTH HISTORICAL PERIOD FROM THE INVASION OF THE NORMANS IN 1066, TO THE INVASION OF FRANCE BY EDWARD III. IN 1339. — POPULATION NOT MUCH INCREASED DURING THIS PERIOD.

It will not, it may be concluded, be maintained by any body, that the number of people in England was increased by the invasion of the Normans. They must speedily have destroyed more than they supplied the place of, and it is probable the population diminished during the time they remained masters of the country. The annals of England from the conquest to the death of Henry III., in 1272, are filled with revolutions in the government, insurrections of the people, domestic ravages, foreign wars, crusades, famines, and pestilences. Dr. Campbell has enumerated various circumstances, demonstrating the unhappiness of the nation during these times, which were equally ferocious and unsettled, and by necessary consequence to show, he says, the decline of the number of people.*

* Campbell's Survey, vol. ii. c. iii. p. 63.

Hume says, "At the Conquest the cities were little better than villages." Brady tells us that, "in York city, in the time of King Edward, besides the Archbishop's wards or divisions, there were six wards or divisions, one of which was destroyed when the castles were built; in five there were 1418 mansions, &c. Of all these mansions there are in the king's possession 409 great and small, and 400 mansions not inhabited, (i. e. had no constant inhabitants) the best of which pays one penny, and others less, and 540 mansions so inhabited as they yield nothing at all.—The French hold 145."*—Canterbury was a very small place.

William transported large numbers of the English to the continent, and his reign here was little else than one continued series of revolts, battles, massacres, and desolations. Brady, the friend and advocate of tyranny, gives a just, and truly horrible account, of the degradation and destruction of the people, by this king and his followers, and he is borne out in his account by all the more ancient historians. Such was the desolation which he completed in the north, that from York to Durham there remained not a single house. While, in the south, thirty-six parishes, with their churches, were destroyed, to make the New Forest, the people being expelled and left to perish, their merciless oppressor remaining heedless of their cries, and refusing to give them the smallest succour.

* Brady on Burghs, 8vo. p. 16. from Domesday.

"The Normans, and other foreigners, who followed William's standard, having completely subdued the people, pushed the rights of conquest to the utmost extremity against them. Except the former conquest of England by the Saxons themselves, who endeavoured to exterminate the natives, it would be difficult to find a revolution more destructive or attended with a more complete subjugation of its inhabitants."*

"It was William's declared intention to depress, or, rather, to extirpate the English gentry."† So completely was his power established in the first few years of his reign, and so little reason had he to fear from the resentment of the people, that when the two great Earls Morcar and Edwin had been subdued, he ordered the hands to be lopped off, and the eyes to be put out of many of the prisoners, and he dispersed them in that miserable condition throughout the country, as monuments of his severity."‡

Rufus reigned, in the same spirit, and followed up the policy of William.

In the reign of Stephen, all England was filled with castles; no less than one thousand one hundred and seventeen having been built or newly fortified by the king and the contending barons. "They were garrisoned either with their vassals, or with licentious soldiers, who flocked to them from all quarters. Unbounded rapine was exercised upon the people for the maintenance of those troops; and

* Hume, vol. i. p. 288. † Ib. p. 252. ‡ Ib. p. 261.

private animosities, which had with difficulty been restrained by law, now breaking out without control, rendered England a scene of uninterrupted violence and devastation Wars between the nobles were carried on with the utmost fury in every quarter; and the inferior gentry, as well as the people, finding no defence from the laws during this total dissolution of sovereign authority, were obliged, for their immediate safety, to pay court to some neighbouring chieftain, and to purchase his protection, both by submitting to his exactions, and by assisting him in his rapine upon others." * To this was added an invasion headed by David, King of Scotland, the fury of whose massacres and ravages caused a number of the turbulent barons to make common cause with the king, who in a great battle defeated the Scots,"† and for a time relieved the country from their incursions.

"Were we (continues Mr. Hume), to relate all the military events transmitted to us by contemporary and authentic historians, it would be easy to swell our accounts of this reign into a large volume. It suffices to say, that the war was spread into every quarter—the barons carried on their devastations with redoubled fury, exercised implacable vengeance on each other, and set no bounds to their oppressions over the people. The castles of the nobility became the receptacles of licensed robbers, who, sallying forth day and night, com-

* Hume, vol. i. p. 355. † Ib. p. 357.

mitted spoil on the open country, on the villages, and even on the cities; put those they captured to the torture in order to make them reveal their treasures, sold their persons to slavery, and set fire to their houses, after they had pillaged them of every thing valuable. The fierceness of their disposition leading them to commit wanton destruction, frustrated their rapacity of its purpose; and the property and persons even of the ecclesiastics, generally so much revered, were, at last, from necessity, exposed to the same outrage, which had laid waste the rest of the kingdom. The land was left untilled, the instruments of husbandry were destroyed or abandoned, and a grievous famine, the natural result of these disorders, affected equally both parties, and reduced the spoilers, as well as the defenceless people, to the most extreme want and indigence." *

In the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I. England was drained for the crusades. There was, says Hume, "no regular idea of a constitution, all was confusion and disorder; force and violence decided every thing.† —The history of all the preceding kings of England since the conquest, gives evident proofs of the disorders attending the feudal institutions. The *cities*, during the continuance of this violent government, *could neither be very numerous nor populous;* and there occur instances which seem to evince, that, though these are always the first seats of law and liberty, their police

* Vol. i. p. 360. † Ib. p. 453.

was in general loose and irregular, and exposed to the same disorders with those by which the country was generally infested. It was a custom in London for great numbers, to the amount of a hundred or more, the sons and relations of considerable citizens, to form themselves into a licentious confederacy, to break into rich houses and plunder them, to rob and murder the passengers, and to commit with impunity all sorts of disorders. The citizens durst no more venture abroad after sun-set, than if they had been exposed to the incursions of a public enemy;" * and he alludes to the thousands that were murdered.

These disorders were excessively increased in the miserable reign of Richard, which followed.

Of the reign of John, it is hardly necessary to speak; the disorders of his reign are familiar to every one.

The reign of Henry the Third was disturbed by civil wars, and rapine and murder was carried to an enormous height. "In a case of robbery and murder, the jury appointed to try some of the robbers, although men of property themselves, were in confederacy with those they were to try, and acquitted them." Mr. Godwin, quoting from Matthew Paris, says, "a second jury was inclosed, who at length thought proper to make a full disclosure, and impeached many persons who, from their wealth, or their connection with the court, were most free from suspicion. Of these thirty were immediately

* Hume, vol. ii. p. 466.

hanged, those belonging to the household declaring, that to the king they might justly ascribe their unhappy destiny, as he, by detaining from them the wages of their service, had reduced them to the necessity of having recourse to rapine for a subsistence." *

"By the award made between the King and his Commons, at Kenilworth," commonly called "*The Dictum of Kenilworth*," A. D. 1267, and of his reign the 52d, it is among other things agreed, that "knights and esquires, which were robbers, and among the principal robbers in wars and roads, if they have no lands but goods, shall pay for their ransom half their goods, and find securities to keep the peace of the king and of the realm henceforth." † Those who had nothing, were to give security to keep the peace. This general pardon, although it proves that many men of title and property were robbers and murderers, does not seem to have abated the evil to any very considerable extent, since, in the thirteenth year of Edward I., by the *Statute of Wynton*, ‡ all walled towns are commanded to shut their gates at sun-set, and keep them closed until sun-rise; great jealousy is shown respecting strangers, and particular direction given to arrest every one seen in the streets. And in the statutes for the city of London, § passed in the same year, it is enacted,

* Godwin's Life of Chaucer, vol. i. p. 197.

† Statutes of the Realm, vol. i. s. xiv. fol. 14.

‡ Ib. s. iv. fol. 97. § Ib. fol. 102.

that, "Whereas, many evils, as murders, robberies, and manslaughters, have been committed heretofore in the city by night and by day. It is enjoined that none be so hardy as to be found wandering about the streets of the city, after curfew tolled at St. Martin's Le Grand, with sword or buckler, or other arms for doing mischief, or whereof evil suspicion may arise, *nor in any other manner*, unless he be a great man, or other lawful person of good repute, or their certain messenger, having their warrants to go from one to another, with lanthern in hand." It further enacts, in order to prevent bands of robbers and murderers from assembling, "That none do keep a tavern open for wine or ale, after the tolling of the aforesaid curfew, but they shall keep their tavern shut after that hour, and none therein drinking or resorting. Neither shall any man admit others into his house, except in common taverns, for whom he will not be answerable unto the king's peace."

It is impossible to believe, that the population could have increased from the conquest to the death of Henry III. It is most likely it decreased; the many and terrible afflictions of humanity were not partial, but general, during almost the whole of that dreadful period.

The reign of Edward the Second was troubled with insurrections, civil commotions, and war with the Scots. The country was afflicted during nearly half of his reign with a grievous famine; "perpetual rains, and cold weather, not only destroyed the harvest, but bred a mortality among the

cattle, and raised every kind of food to an uncommon price. The famine was so consuming, that wheat was sold for above four pounds ten shillings a quarter; usually for three pounds. A certain proof of the wretched state of tillage in those ages." Mr. Hume goes on reasoning to prove, that "the ignorance of those ages in manufactures, and still more, their unskilful husbandry, seem a clear proof that the country was far from being populous." *

The miserable reign of this wretched king, who was cruelly murdered in the year 1327, is thus closed by Hume. "The disorders of the times, from foreign wars, and intestine dissentions, but above all, the cruel famine, which obliged the nobility to dismiss many of their retainers, increased the number of robbers, and no place was secure from their incursions. They met in troops like armies, and over-ran the country. Two cardinals themselves, the pope's legates, notwithstanding the numerous train which attended them, were robbed and despoiled of their goods and equipage, when they travelled the highway." †

Yet it is at the conclusion of such a period as has been slightly sketched, certainly not described; it is at the close of a thousand years of horrors, with but few intervals of repose, and scarcely one of comfort; after the almost total annihilation of one race, by the invasion of still greater barbarians than themselves; and the terrible destruction of

* Hume, ii. p. 366. et. seq. † Ib. vol. iii. p. 369.

the invaders, by another people more advanced in knowledge, but scarcely less barbarous and vindictive, when the arts of life were remarkably low; it is the close of this period, that Mr. Godwin has pitched upon as the most populous, as containing as many people as it does now. Mr. Godwin says, "wherever depopulation has once set up its standard, the evil goes on;—wherever depopulation has continued for a considerable time, and to a great extent, there is no instance of recovery but by immigration."* The standard of depopulation was not only set up here, but was maintained for many centuries; all the circumstances which usually depopulate countries existed in excess, and had there been no means of replacing the people, but those of immigration, they would have perished to a man. The state of society in the whole of Europe, during the same period, was such, that, but for the power of procreation in intervals of repose, the whole of the people would have been eaten out. If under "the most favourable circumstances, and such as cannot be expected to exist for any considerable period," mankind have barely the power to maintain their numbers, how was the enormous waste of life supplied during those ages of savage ferocity, of plague, pestilence, and famine? It is no answer to refer to the northern hive, to tell us of the multitudes of barbarians; for the question again occurs, how did they become such multitudes? When we look to the north of

* Reply, p. 308.

Europe, and observe the large portion of it, which at the Christian æra was either not at all, or but very thinly inhabited; when we consider the barbarous mode of life of the "hairy naked savages," the space necessary for the maintenance of a few thousands of persons, and compare it with the present state of civilization, it is impossible to believe but that there must be many times over the number of people now, that could be maintained then; and the question again recurs, whence did the people come?—certainly not from emigration. The Asiatic hordes, which since that period have invaded Europe, carrying fire and sword with them, desolating the countries they traversed, and extirpating the inhabitants, could hardly have replaced the numbers they destroyed. It has been procreation then, which the peculiarly ferocious manners of the people could only restrain, but not destroy. Violent and atrocious as were the invaders of this and other countries, still the forms of society were less permanently destructive of mankind, than those which became established in Egypt, and other eastern countries; and the people from time to time reproduced their numbers, and in after times greatly increased the population. The state of by far the greater part of Europe, and more particularly of this country, is an answer to the strange assertion of Mr. Godwin, that they could only have been replaced by immigration.

It was necessary for the support of Mr. Godwin's hypothesis, that he should reject the testi-

mony which history presents, respecting the amount of the population, and assert that the number of people was as great in 1339, as it is at the present day.

But Mr. Godwin must have been well aware, that at the Conquest the country could have contained but a small number of people; he knew that the Britons had been almost exterminated, and that scarcely any remained in England; that the different hordes of barbarians who had invaded the country, and who had been tearing one another to pieces, could not compose a dense population; he knew, that even to assert that the sword, the plague, and famine, had spared 2,000,000 of those who really invaded the country, would be to estimate the number very high.

Mr. Godwin is left without any choice. He must, to maintain his hypothesis, say, that notwithstanding the horrid state of society which preceded the Norman invasion, the barbarians of the north transplanted some 20,000,000 of people, one half of whom were destroyed by the sword, by disease, and famine, and that the other half were maintained by the produce of the earth, notwithstanding the desolate state of the country; which was impossible; if with so many and such terrible causes of depopulation constantly operating; if, notwithstanding the horrid desolations, the destructive foreign and domestic wars, the crusades, the celibacy of the priests and nuns, the plagues and famines, the general ignorance of all ranks of people, the slavery of the common people during

a considerable portion of the time, from the Conquest to the reign of Edward III.; their bad habits of husbandry, the state of the country in respect to fens, marshes, and forests, the want of roads, and means of conveyance;—if, notwithstanding all these things so inimical to an increase of people, they doubled their number twice; if the country did actually maintain upwards of 10,000,000 of people, what was it that, spite of all these manifold evils, caused this increase of people in less than three centuries from the Conquest, and yet prevented any increase at all in the next five centuries of increasing information, the latter half of which was a period of comparative tranquillity, and during which an almost infinite number of circumstances has operated favourably to an increase of the population?

Mr. Godwin has here got himself into an inextricable mass of difficulties; he must say that the population was much greater at the Conquest than in 1339, and was reduced by that time to about 10,000,000, or that they were as numerous at the Conquest as in 1339, and that the power of procreation was equal to the devastation; which would be an abandonment of his hypothesis. Or, that the number of the people was a small one at the Conquest, but that the power of procreation was so great as to double the population twice in 273 years, and supply the waste during the same period, which is more than the greatest "dreamer" would contend for.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE POPULATION OF ENGLAND.

SECTION III.

FIFTH HISTORICAL PERIOD, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III., IN 1327, TO THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VII. IN 1485.

MR. GODWIN next proceeds to show, that the population could not have increased between the year 1339, and the accession of Henry VII. in 1485.

At the commencement of the reign of Edw. III., some progress had been made in civilization, which was considerably increased during his reign, and those of his successors; yet the state of the country was at several periods inauspicious to an increase of people, and there were times when it must have declined.

Mr. Godwin observes that, "In 1339, Edw. III. led forth an army for the conquest of France. He repeated the same proceeding in 1342, and again in 1346, while, at the same time, Queen Philippa marched against the Scots, who were defeated in a great battle, in which 20,000 North Britons were slain, and the Scottish king, and many of his nobles,

were taken prisoners. The expulsion of the English from France, in the latter end of the reign of Edw. III., was probably more destructive than his conquests. To these events we must add the plague of 1348, of the victims of which 50,000 are said to have been interred in one year, in a burial-ground now the scite of the Charter House, besides those who died (*were buried*) in other parts of London; *this infection appears to have diffused itself* IMPARTIALLY *through every part of England.*"* In another of his works, Mr. Godwin has entered more at length into an account of this dreadful plague; he says, "We have a ground of singular authenticity to calculate the population of London: Sir Walter Manny purchased a piece of ground now the scite of the Charter House, for the *interment of such persons as the churches and church-yards of London might not suffice to bury;* and it appears, from an inscription upon a stone cross, which remained when Stowe wrote, that *more than 50,000 persons were buried in this ground,* in the space of one year. Maitland very naturally observes, that this cannot be supposed to exceed the amount of one half of the persons who died at that period."† "In London, *certainly* not fewer than 100,000 persons perished, which was perhaps the half, and perhaps a greater proportion of the population, which the metropolis of England then had to boast. Walsingham states it as the general opinion, that not more than the tenth person was left alive, but seems himself

* Reply, p. 348. † Life of Chaucer, vol. i. p. 15.

inclined to believe, that half mankind survived the calamity."*

Sir Walter Manny was not the only person who purchased ground for the purpose of providing a place of interment for the dead. The then Bishop of London, Ralph Stratford, bought a piece of ground for the same use; and another piece was also purchased by one John Corey, a clergyman. The inscription mentioned by Mr. Godwin says, "more than 50,000 bodies were buried, besides many others since thenceforward." "All of which," says Maitland, "with the additions of those buried in other grounds, church-yards, and churches, may convince us of the assertion, that not one in ten survived, and that there could not die less than 100,000 in the whole."†

The plague broke out in England in the month of August 1348, and continued a year.

If so many as 100,000 persons died in the metropolis, it must have been a much larger proportion than half, nearer indeed, as the old historians assert, of nine in ten. Mr. Godwin, from Hume, says, that "London, in the reign of King Stephen, contained 40,000 persons;" and from Stowe, that the whole of the ground within the walls, was not covered with houses. "Cheapside was no manner of street, but a fair large place called Crown Field, and tournaments were held there in the reign of Edward III. Among the environs of London, we find enumerated the villages of Strand, Charing,

* Life of Chaucer, vol. i. p. 408. † Maitland, fol. 128.

and Holborn."* It is probable, that London, within the walls, never at any time contained so many as 150,000 inhabitants, and in the reign of Edward III. the whole of the metropolis must have contained much less than that number.

The great plague of 1348 had so thinned the people, that Knighton says, a horse worth 40s. was sold for 6s. 8d.; a cow, at 1s., an heifer or steer, at 6d., and a fat mutton, at 4d. The parliament, in the next year, judged it expedient to pass the "statute of labourers," which enacts, "That because a *great part* of the people, and especially workmen and servants, had died of the pestilence, many will not serve unless they receive excessive wages; every man and woman not otherwise provided for, who are under threescore years of age, and able to work, are commanded to work for those who will employ them, at the usual wages paid during the six years immediately preceding the plague, under pain of imprisonment, and those who employ them are forbidden to give more wages than are allowed by the statute." †

In the next year, the commons complained that the statute was not observed, and that labourers would not work, unless they received double or treble the wages ordered; and, upon their petition, the statute was made more special. ‡ Workmen were to bring their tools into the most public

* Godwin's Life of Chaucer, vol. i. p. 14.

† Statutes of the Realm, 23d Edward III. vol. i. fol. 307.

‡ Neither this complaint of the commons, nor the special statute, produced the effect intended; for in the next year the com-

place, and there to be hired; and servants in husbandry were to be sworn to the performance of their labours two times in the year. None were allowed to go out of the county, nor any to remain idle, under very severe penalties."*

From complaints made in parliament, it appears that many persons, in consequence of the plague, were enabled to live in much greater splendour than they had before been able to do; the people having been more reduced in number than the capital of the country was reduced in value, and there being fewer people to possess it, many persons, therefore, engaged large numbers of labourers, to whom they gave liveries, and who, finding it more to their interest than working at the low wages fixed by statute, "chose to live," as the commons expressed it, "in idleness rather than work." The scarcity of labourers, and the abundance of capital, necessarily defeated the provisions of the law, and the employer was obliged to give his labourers higher wages than the law allowed, without which he could not get his business done. That this was so is further proved by the subsequent act, 6th Henry VI., c. 3., re-enacting the former statutes with certain modifications, expressly on the ground that "the statutes be not kept, nor put in execution."†.

In the 37th of Edward III., the commons petitioned, That such persons as, in the time of the pes-

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mons again complained, and prayed that corporal punishment might be inflicted on the refractory. Rolls, vol. ii. fol. 227. No. ii.

* Statutes of the Realm, vol. i. fol. 311. See also Statutes 31st, 34th, 36th, and 42d Edward III. † Ib. vol. ii. p. 233.

tilence, did let forth their manors holden of the king in chief, without licence, to sundry persons for term of life, may accordingly continue the same *until the people be more populous.** Mr. Hume has observed, "That the commons were sensible that this security of possession was a good means for rendering the kingdom prosperous and flourishing, yet they durst not apply all at once for a greater relaxation of their chains."† This was a great step in civilization.

"We can," says Mr. Chalmers, "from incontestible evidence establish the whole number of inhabitants in the year 1377, the 51st Edward III., with sufficient exactness to answer all the practical purposes of the statesman, and even to satisfy all the doubts of the sceptic; a poll-tax of fourpence having been imposed on every lay person, as well male as female, of fourteen years and upwards, real mendicants only excepted. There remains an official return of the persons who paid the tax, amounting to 1,367,239. By adding those under fourteen years of age, calculating the number by the tables of Dr. Halley, Mr. Simpson, Dr. Price, and others, adding also the clergy, and allowing for omissions, he makes the whole population of

England amount to	2,156,643
Wales	196,560
Total of England and Wales	2,353,203‡

This was twenty-nine years after the great plague.

* Cotton's Abridgment, fol. 97. † Vol. ii. p. 449.

‡ Chalmer's Estimate, p. 12. et seq.

Mr. Godwin goes on thus: "The turbulent times of Richard II., the insurrection of the common people under Wat Tyler, and afterwards the contests between the king and his barons, *could not have been favourable to population.*"

"The reign of Henry IV. was scarcely less disturbed than that of his predecessor."

"Henry V. acted over again the achievements of Edward III. for the conquest of France, and these were followed by still more disastrous scenes in the reign of his son."

"The series of events next brings us to the wars of York and Lancaster, upon which Hume observes, "This fatal quarrel was not finished in less than a course of thirty years; it was signalized by twelve pitched battles; it opened a scene of extraordinary fierceness and cruelty, and is computed to have cost the lives of eighty princes of the blood, and to have almost annihilated the antient nobility of England." What effect this had upon the general population may easily be imagined. It is no less true of these wars, than of the war of Troy:

"Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi."

In the first year of Richard II., stat. i. c. 7., it is enacted as follows: * "*Item*, Because that divers people of small revenue of land, rent, or

* Statutes of the Realm, vol. ii. p. 3. This statute was further inforced by statute 1st Henry IV. c. 7., and 7th Henry IV. c. 14., and 8th Henry VI. c. 4., 19th Henry VII. c. 14.

other possessions, do make great retinue of people, as well of esquires as of other, in many parts of the realm, giving to them hats and other liveries, of one suit by the year, taking of them the value of the same livery, or percase the double value, by such covenant and assurance, that any of them shall maintain other in all quarrels, be they reasonable or unreasonable, to the great mischief and oppression of the people," &c. On which Hume remarks,* "This preamble contains a true picture of the state of the kingdom; the laws had been so feebly executed, even during the long, active, and vigorous reign of Edward III., that no subject could trust to their protection. Hence these confederacies, which supported each other in all quarrels, iniquities, extortions, robberies, murders, and other crimes; and hence the perpetual turbulence, disorders, factions, and civil wars of those times."

In the 9th year of Henry V., A. D. 1421., stat. 1. c. 5., it was enacted, That† "whereas by the statute made at Westminster, in the 14th year of King Edw. III., it was ordained, &c. that no sheriff should abide in his bailiwick above one year, and that another should be set in his place, and no escheater should tarry in his office above a year; and whereas at the making of the said statute, divers sufficient persons were in every county of England to occupy and govern the same offices well towards the king

* Vol. iii. p. 58.

† Statutes of the Realm, vol. ii. fol. 206.

and all his liege people. Forasmuch that, as well by divers pestilences within the realm of England, as by the wars without the realm, *there is now no such sufficiency*, it is ordained, &c., that the king may make the sheriffs and escheaters through the realm at his will, until the end of four years." The Honourable Daines Barrington, in his observations on this statute, remarks, that "the laurels the king acquired are well known, but he hath left us a most irrefragable proof, that they were not obtained but at the dearest price—*the depopulation of the country.*"*

In the 4th year of Henry VII. A. D. 1488, was passed, "An acte agaynst pullyng doun of tounes."† "The king, &c. whereas great inconvenyences daily doth encrease, by desolacion and pulling doun and wilfull waste of houses and townes within this his realme, and leyeng to pasture londes, which custumeably have been used in tilthe, whereby ydilnes grounde and begynnyng of all myschefes daily doo encreace; for where in some townes tuo hundred psones were occupied and lived by their laufull labours, nowe ben there occupied two or three herdemen, and the residue fall in ydelnes, the husbondrie, whiche is one of the grettest comodities of this realme, is gretly decaied, churches destroied, the svice of God withdrawen, the bodies there buried not praied for, the patrones and curates wronged," &c.

* Observations on the Statutes, Fifth Edition, p. 386.

† Statutes of the Realm, vol. ii. fol. 542.

These statutes seem to imply a very considerable decrease of the people, and is a proper commentary to the close of the long-continued civil wars.

Mr. Godwin's remarks imply an opinion, that during the period treated of in this chapter, the population was reduced. This, however, may be doubted, notwithstanding the miserable course the nation had run in, although it is very possible that the population might have decreased during the civil war.

If the population were as high in 1339, as it was in 1077, after the Conqueror had completely subjugated the English, and entirely desolated the northern counties, and if the subsequent events between 1077 and 1339, did not reduce the number of the people, it is not probable that those which occurred between 1339 and 1485, could have kept it below what it was at the first of these periods; for notwithstanding the circumstances which have been noticed, the period of which this chapter treats was not more, and probably less destructive, than that which preceded it. Society had undergone some material changes; the people had risen into considerable consequence; the form of government, and the administration of justice had become much more settled, and, consequently, many matters were taken notice of in Parliament, which in former times were wholly disregarded. So far as these relate to the population, if considered without reference to the previous periods, they may seem to imply a decrease in

the number of the people, which was probably not the case.

Nothing can well be more unreasonable than the attempt of Mr. Godwin to persuade his readers, that the population in 1339 was equal to the population at the present day; and nothing can prove the power of procreation more completely than the evidence which has been given, that the number of the people in this country was, probably, as great at the close of the long civil wars in 1485, as it was in 1339. If, however, it be contended, that at the close of those wars the population was reduced somewhat below what it was in 1339, or in 1066, the point will hardly be worth a dispute; for it will be seen that in a very few years from the last of these periods, the population certainly exceeded 2,500,000.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE POPULATION OF ENGLAND.

SECTION IV.

SIXTH HISTORICAL PERIOD FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VII. TO THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

THE close of the civil wars in 1485, allows us time to breathe; with them closed for ever the age of barbarism in this country. It has been remarked by Hume, that "here commences the useful, as well as the more agreeable part of modern annals. The art of printing extremely facilitated the progress of all improvements. The invention of gunpowder changed the art of war; mighty innovations were afterwards made in religion, and thus a general revolution was made in human affairs, and men gradually attained that situation with regard to commerce, arts, science, government, police, and civilization, in which they have ever since persevered."*

Mr. Godwin could not conceal from himself the effect of this change on population. "The reign of the Tudors may," he says, "upon the whole, have

* Vol. iii. p. 406.

been favourable to population," but he denies that the reign of the Stuarts was so. "Charles the First never spared the blood of his people, and his conduct at length involved the nation in a civil war."

"The interregnum, with all its fluctuations and uncertainty of government, *did not tend* to increase the number of our countrymen.

"Charles the Second could not have been beneficial to the nation."

One cannot but regret to see a man like Mr. Godwin driven to such shifts as these; he was compelled to maintain the position he had taken, however absurd the arguments he used. According to him, population must have grown up to 10,000,000 at the conquest, which all the destruction which afterwards fell upon the people in every way, and in every form, could not reduce below that number. Procreation was, it seems, able to supply all losses; and to keep the number of people at the same amount. The principle of population must be admitted to have been very powerful, if it accomplished this.

It must, at the least, have maintained the number of the people from 1339, to the accession of Henry VII. and this may be believed. But there must have been some "occult cause," which, from the accession of Henry VII. to the Revolution in 1688, kept the population from increasing. It is absurd to suppose that the "principle of population" could act only under such terrible circumstances as the country was placed in from 1066 to 1485; and that it should wholly cease from 1485

to 1688, a period so exceedingly different, and upon the whole, if compared with the former, so much more auspicious to the people.

Henry VII. enacted several statutes against maintenance, but the recitals in those statutes prove, that the manners of the people were much changed. They no longer speak of the nobility as chieftains carrying on open war, or as robbers with bands of armed men, acting with the ferocious barbarity of their predecessors.

The statute of labourers was re-enacted in the eleventh of this king, but it was found necessary in the next year to repeal so much of it as related to masons, carpenters, and others concerned in buildings, and to servants in husbandry.*

During this reign many restraints were put upon manufactures, trade, and commerce, under the mistaken notion of promoting them, or for the purpose of raising money, which, with various modifications, and some extensions, still exist. But, upon the whole, this king's reign must have been favourable to population.

If but little occurred calculated to promote a rapid increase of people in the long reign of Henry VIII., few circumstances occurred calculated to decrease it; while the improvement in the laws relating to tenures, the abolition of monasteries, and a better administration of the laws generally, could not fail to assist in producing, at

* Stat. Realm, 12 Hen. VII. vol. ii. fol. 637.

no great distance of time, a state of things favourable to a considerable increase of people.

The reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, although far from quiet, and in some respects productive of unhappiness, were not, upon the whole, inimical to an increase of people; while, during the long reign of Elizabeth, very many circumstances combined to promote population.

That the reign of the Tudors was favourable to an increase of the population cannot be doubted. Arts, sciences, literature, commerce, manufactures, agriculture, and gardening, were all much increased or improved. The celibacy of the priests was put an end to, and nunneries were abolished. It has been calculated, that during many years, not less than 150,000 persons were constantly restrained from marrying by these institutions. It is probable, however, that all who had led a monkish life would not marry, yet but few of the females would remain single, when they were obliged to continue in the world, in an improving state of society; when capital was accumulating, and the means of living comfortably, and of employing labour were greatly increased. The monasteries tended to prevent the diffusion of capital, and promoted idleness in various ways, as did also the fasts and holidays of the Catholic church. It is true, great numbers of persons were relieved or maintained by the church, but they were, for the most part, mere consumers, made unproductive by the very system which afterwards relieved their

necessities. The release of property from the ecclesiastical grasp, the liberty to will land, and the removal of many other restraints, could not fail greatly to increase the number of land-owners, and to place the nation in a situation gradually to increase its means of subsistence, to promote industry, and to add to its numbers.

"From the reign of Elizabeth," Mr. Godwin remarks, "began the system of colonization, the effects of which I shall have occasion more fully to unfold, when I come to treat expressly of the United States of America." *

During the reign of James I., the people obtained, or still further secured, several important advantages, and were certainly in a flourishing condition at the close of his reign.

The distractions and civil wars in the reign of Charles the First; the fanaticism, distrust, and gloomy tenets, which were followed by the loose manners and dissensions which prevailed to the close of the dynasty, were inimical to the welfare of the people, and their increase was, probably, at times retarded, and, perhaps, at intervals suspended; but the people preserved all they had gained, which tended to the increase of wealth and population, and at length these advantages were manifested by the Revolution of 1688.

* This has been treated of in Chap. III.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE POPULATION OF ENGLAND.

SECTION V.

SEVENTH HISTORICAL PERIOD FROM THE REVOLUTION OF 1688 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

Since the Revolution of 1688, it might reasonably be concluded that there had been a considerable increase of people. Several causes have already been noticed calculated to produce this effect; in addition it may be remarked, that the plague, which had been very destructive in the preceding part of the century, there being only three years from 1600 to 1665 wholly free from it, ceased at the latter period. Celibacy was not only no longer enjoined by law, but was held to be necessary by none but the priests of the Romish persuasion, who were reduced to a small number. Rebellion and civil war may also be said to have ceased, the two attempts in favour of the Pretender in 1715, and 1745, being of very little consequence in respect to population. Wealth has been diffused over a larger surface, and capital has accumulated, particularly during the last half century, with unexampled rapidity. And thus many causes have been operating, all of them calculated to encou-

rage an increase of people. Against all this, Mr. Godwin places continental wars and emigration, not observing, that, if those two causes operated to any considerable extent, and that notwithstanding their operation the population was not decreased, procreation must have been very active to have enabled the country to support the loss. Mr. Godwin observes, that, "at the Revolution of 1688, commenced the system of England making herself a principal in the wars of the continent." In a subject more directly political than the present, this observation would demand considerable attention: but so far as it respects population, it will be seen that our interference in the quarrels of the nations on the continent of Europe has had no direct or sensible effect in retarding the increase of the people. Large as has been the number of lives sacrificed in those wars, it is a mere trifle when compared with the amount of the population, and of but little consequence in the view here taken, as but few breeding women were destroyed by them. But it is asked, how does it happen that so many of the people are in a state of wretchedness, since there has been such an increase in the wealth and means of comfortable subsistence? The answer has been given; in the too rapid increase of people. If the people increase faster than the capital, which can alone provide beneficial employment; if, in other words, more labour be produced than is required, the real price of labour will fall, nor can this be prevented by any legislative measures whatever: the mass of the people will be

deteriorated, and numbers will be reduced to extreme poverty.

Restrictive laws on agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, have no doubt aggravated the evil; heavy taxation and the poor laws have also contributed their share. Had the restrictive laws been gradually repealed, instead of being increased, had there been less war and fewer taxes, the indirect effect of which prevented a still greater amount of people, inasmuch as by preventing the further accumulation of capital, they prevented also the means of employment for more people. But for these causes more people would have been produced, the attention of many of those among us who are anxiously desirous of benefiting the people, would have had more scope, and have also had a better chance of being attended to; and it is probable that means would have been adopted so to adjust the amount of the population to the means of subsistence, as greatly to have improved the condition of the people, and to have maintained in comfort a much larger number than the country at present contains.

If the increase of capital had been proportionally greater than the increase of people, there would have been a continual demand for labour beyond the supply; real wages would have been high; there could have been but little poverty, and no complaints of the operation of the poor laws.

"It has been calculated," says Mr. Ricardo, "that, under favourable circumstances, population may be doubled in twenty-five years; but under

the most favourable circumstances, the whole capital of a country might possibly be doubled in a much shorter period. In that case, wages during the whole period would have a tendency to rise, because the demand for labour would increase still faster than the supply."* Whether the exact period of doubling be twenty-five, or any other number of years, the reasoning is equally sound, and the conclusion equally just. This state of things, if assisted by the preventive checks, might produce and keep up for an indefinite period, a much more numerous, more virtuous, and happier people than have hitherto existed.

Mr. Malthus and Mr. Godwin have both bestowed considerable pains on the period treated of in this chapter. In every respect it is by far the most interesting and important of our history. Every department of human knowledge has been extended with a rapidity before unknown; and there seems no reason to doubt, but that mankind will continue to increase their knowledge with accelerating velocity.

But although Mr. Godwin has in his present as well as in his former works, admitted that there have been great improvements in arts, manufactures, and agriculture, since 1668, he denies that they have tended to increase the population, while, from his account as well as from most of those who have written against the principle of population, it should seem that these improvements have

* Principles of Political Economy and Taxation, p. 98.

been of no use to the people, since we are no more able to feed, clothe, and instruct the same number of people now than we were then, or rather that we are less able; since a very large proportion of the people are scantily provided for in every respect as paupers, who formerly maintained themselves in comfort by their labour.

Mr. Godwin all along reasons inconsequently, if the population in 1339 was as great as it is *now;* if the country maintained its number to the accession of Henry VII.; if it rather increased than diminished during the reign of the Tudors; and if the population did not decrease, or decreased very little during that of the Stuarts, it would of course be as great at the revolution in 1688 as *now;* and this is Mr. Godwin's hypothesis. Dr. Price took much pains to prove, that for the greater part of the last century the population diminished with considerable rapidity, and this opinion is countenanced by Mr. Godwin. According to Dr. Price and Mr. Godwin, the population declined from 1688 for nearly a century, and consequently the number of the people must have been greatly reduced at its lowest point of declension. Yet since that period, which could not have been half a century ago, it has even, according to Mr. Godwin's own showing, again recovered its lost numbers, and this, too, notwithstanding the emigration, as Mr. Godwin tells us, of several millions, and the consequences of the almost perpetual wars in which the nation has been engaged, both of which cir-

cumstances are considered by him to be efficient causes of depopulation. In admitting these fluctuations, Mr. Godwin admits the existence of the power his book was written to deny; and has made a conclusive case against himself.

Mr. Godwin will not allow that we have any evidence of an increase of population, in the returns of houses to the tax office, and this he attempts to prove by means of a table in which he has, "collected (he says) the different accounts on this subject under one point of view."

His account is as follows:

Houses in England and Wales.

In 1660	1,230,000
1685	1,300,000
1690	1,319,215
1759	986,482
1761 or 1765	980,692
1777	952,734
1801	1,633,399
1811	1,848,524

The first three are taken from the hearth books, there being at that time a tax of two shillings on every hearth. The next three, in like manner, are extracted from the returns to the tax office, given by the surveyors of the house and window duties for the different departments. The last two from the population returns to parliament. *

Dr. Price had so completely succeeded in deceiving and frightening himself, with the no-

* Reply, p. 223.

tion of a rapid decrease of the people, at a time when a great number of the causes of premature mortality had ceased, that he could not for a moment allow any reasoning to prevail, which did not support his hypothesis; and Mr. Godwin has taken advantage of this weakness in Dr. Price, to condemn the enumeration of houses altogether. He says he has "collected the different accounts on this subject;" and yet he has taken the first six from Dr. Price without further enquiry. This is, to be sure, the right way to throw discredit on the table which Mr. Godwin avows to have been his object, but it is not the course which a man who is a "diligent enquirer after truth" should take. Mr. Godwin ought to have searched for further information, and if he had he would have found it. It is easy for a man to take up the first opinion he meets with which suits his purpose, to discredit the facts of history, and to make them more obscure; but it is the duty of the philosopher to clear and to establish as many of those facts as come under his cognizance. The absurd attempt to shew that England contained as many people in 1339 as in 1820, compelled Mr. Godwin to condemn where he ought to have elucidated. The hearth-tax, which could not be easily avoided, and the returns of the number of houses to that tax, which have been generally admitted as correct, was repealed in 1696, and the window tax was then established. By the window tax act, houses having less than ten windows were not liable to the duty, and under this act, a very large propor-

tion of the whole number of houses were exempted. Davenant has stated that the number of cottages in 1689, inhabited by the poorer sort of people, amounted to 500,000; and Mr. Chalmers, "from his researches in the tax office, concludes from the returns made in 1708, that there were 710,000 houses and cottages which paid nothing."* It appears, he says, from a report made to the treasury in 1754, that, in the year 1710, when an additional tax on windows was imposed, that it became a common practice to stop up lights, so much so, that notwithstanding the additional duty, the revenue from this source fell short of what it was in 1708 by about a sixth:

The sum collected in 1708 being.....	£121,033
1711	115,675

Other modes of evading the tax had also been found out, and the return of houses to the tax office became less and less. The act 20 Geo. II. A. D. 1747-8, recites some of those evasions, as a fraud upon the revenue; but it does not, like the statutes of Hen. VII. and Hen. VIII. recite, That whereas houses are pulled down, and towns are falling to decay; neither does any of the subsequent acts relating to houses, although those acts are pretty numerous.

"Dr. Forster (continues Mr. Chalmers)† having, in 1757, obtained the collectors' rolls in nine contiguous parishes, he counted the number

* Comparative Estimate, chap. xi. † Ib. p. 205.

of houses, and found that out of 588, only 177 were assessed to the tax; that Lambourn parish, wherein there is a market town, contained 445 houses, of which 229 only paid the tax. When it was objected to Forster that his survey was too narrow for a general average, he added afterwards nine other parishes in distant counties, whereby it appeared, that of 1045 houses, only 847 were charged to the duty; whence he inferred, that the *cottages* were to the *taxable houses* as more than *two* to *one*. Mr. Wales equally objected to the truth of the surveyors' returns in their full extent. And Mr. Howlet endeavoured, with no small success, to calculate the average of their errors, in order to evince what ought probably to have been the true amount of the genuine number. In this calculation, Dr. Price hath doubtless shewn petty faults; yet is there sufficient reason to conclude with Dr. Forster and Mr. Howlet, that the houses returned to the tax office are to the whole as 17 to 29."— "In 1794, the returns to the tax office was 1,008,222, — and in 1781, 1,003,810." * These returns are not given as an exact account of the number of houses, the rate collectors having no very strong inducement to be exact in enumerating houses from which no revenue was to arise; but they prove that there was no decay of population, and they, with the foregoing statement, sufficiently account for the apparent decrease of houses.

* Chalmers, p. 214.

But Mr. Godwin has destroyed his own argument. He says, "Another conclusion which would follow from *calculating on the number of houses* would be, that the country was rapidly depopulating, from the Revolution at least, up to 1777; a conclusion *which no reasoning founded upon any other consideration will incline us to believe.*"* Yet Mr. Godwin has brought forward Dr. Price, as an unquestionable authority, to prove the depopulation. He has dwelt upon our Continental wars, and the millions which, according to him, have emigrated to all parts of the world. He has denied the increased value of life, and has admitted no one circumstance, which, according to his mode of reasoning, could at all tend to counteract the depopulating causes which have been named.

In order to show that the amount of the population in 1700, as estimated by Mr. Rickman, in the preliminary observations to the parliamentary returns respecting the population was too low, Mr. Godwin says, "If I calculate the question of inhabitants to a house by the rule of proportion, and suppose as many persons to a house in 1690, as in 1811, to which I see *no reasonable objection*, the population of England and Wales at the former of these periods will be upwards of 7,000,000." But as even this amount of people, to which when the millions whom Mr. Godwin supposes to have emigrated were added, would show an increase totally destructive of his hypo-

* Reply, p. 221.

thesis, he rejects all former accounts, and says he shall confine himself to the two enumerations of 1801 and 1811.

Mr. Rickman's estimate of the population in 1700, viz. 5,475,000, is probably much nearer the truth, than that as taken by Mr. Godwin in order to prove its fallacy. Mr. Godwin "sees no *reasonable objection* to taking the same number of persons to a house in 1690 and 1811." He might however, with no great difficulty, have found several "reasonable objections." He has, in several places, lamented the decrease of cottages, a conclusion, perhaps, too hastily adopted, and too generally made. He has also, although with much reluctance, brought himself to admit that London has somewhat increased: London, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, did not cover more than one-eighth of the ground it now occupies. In 1690, it did not contain a fourth part of the houses it now contains; and certainly there were not half so many houses in 1750 as at present. This may be easily ascertained by an inspection of the maps or plans made at the periods named. Many villages have grown into towns, and many towns have increased to several times their extent since 1700; and consequently a larger portion of the people are huddled together, not only into a smaller space, but more in a house, than when compared with the whole number of the people. Cottages were more common, and, on Mr. Godwin's hypothesis, the towns have not increased in population from procreation, but by drawing the people from

the country, whose number has consequently decreased.

Another "reasonable objection" might have been discovered in the number of persons embodied in the army, and employed in the navy and merchants service, but not included in the census of 1811, as inhabitants of any houses. The whole number of those, thus employed, was 640,500. In 1690, the number employed was comparatively a very small one. It appears that towards the close of the war with Louis XIV. the number of sailors in the navy was only 45,000, and that the minister declared, "the fleet could not be increased, as not having ships enough, nor men, unless we stop even the craft trade." The merchants service employed only 11,432 men, while the army, including officers, ordnance, transports, and hospitals, was only 87,440 men, making a total of 133,872, half a million less than in 1811. "Another reasonable doubt" might have been found in the number of persons wholly maintained in workhouses, and these, according to the returns made to parliament in 1813, amounted to 92,223. In the population returns in 1811, the whole number in each workhouse were necessarily returned as the inhabitants of one house, and the number in some of these houses exceeded 600. In 1690, the number of workhouses were very few, and the persons in them a mere trifle. Another cause for "reasonable doubt," might also have been found in the number of persons confined for debt, and in that of those confined in prisons and

hulks for crimes, the number of which was greatly increased at the latter period; yet, when all have been added together, the average is not quite six persons to an inhabited house. When all these causes of "reasonable doubt" have been duly appreciated, it will be found that five persons to a house in 1690, is probably too large a number, and consequently that the population at that period did not exceed 5,500,000. Dr. Davenant, Mr. King, and others, made the population in 1700 amount to about 5,500,000. Dr. Davenant observes of Mr. King, that he was as well qualified as a man could be, and "proceeded on as authentic grounds as perhaps the matter is capable of." * Major Grant, in 1756, calculated the number at 7,200,000. These statements were approximations demanding some attention, and are far from meriting the contempt with which they have been treated by Mr. Godwin.

Mr. Godwin says†, "The period from 1339 to the reign of Hen. VII. was unfavourable to population; that the reign of the Tudors was upon the whole favourable to population; not so the reign of the Stuarts." At the Revolution commenced the system of England, making herself a principal in the wars of the Continent. From the reign of Elizabeth we have been colonizing, and in the reign of Geo. III., *we not only sent out our planters to America, but we have settled an empire in the East Indies, and distributed our*

* Davenant, vol. ii. p. 191. † Book iii. chap. 4.

colonists profusely to other parts of the world. Till the fire of London, in 1666, Hume says, "the plague used to break out with great fury in this metropolis twice or thrice in every century." Hence it is impossible, Mr. Godwin infers, that the population can have increased. This can hardly be called reasoning, and in fact it contradicts itself; for, notwithstanding the causes which have operated to destroy the population, and the reason to apprehend the diminution of people, and since, as Mr. Godwin asserts in another place, that America does not keep up its number by procreation, and consequently all the English and their descendents in the United States in Canada and in the East and West Indies, must be reckoned emigrants from this country, there must have been produced at the least as many persons to supply the waste by emigration, as the country at present contains. This one would think was itself no bad proof of the power of the principle of population. Not so, however, Mr. Godwin. He says, there is more reason to fear a decrease, "than to expect an increase of people," "even if war and other atrocious follies were put an end to." The truth is, that Mr. Godwin has taken a false view of the subject, and has treated of it absurdly. Mr. Godwin says most truly, "it is the glory of modern philosophy to have banished the doctrine of occult causes."* Yet, what but some "occult cause" can help him out of the difficulty? According to him,

* Reply, p. 312.

population maintained itself from the Norman conquest in 1066 to 1339, and from 1339 to Hen. VII. It did no more under the Tudors, or the least in the world more; it did no more, if so much, under the Stuarts, and has not increased since the Revolution. It must, indeed, have been some "occult cause," which has kept it steady during periods so very dissimilar in their effects.

Mr. Godwin, in his 96th page, appeals at once to this "occult cause." He says, "There is *something much more mysterious* in the principle, by which the race of mankind is perpetuated, than any man has yet distinctly remarked; and he that shall sufficiently attend to it, instead of *wondering* that the globe has not long ago been overstocked with inhabitants, and seeking for vague and indefinite causes to account for the thinness of population, will be apt rather to *wonder* why the human race has not by this time become extinct." It can only be lamented that, in his attempts to rectify the theory of Mr. Malthus, Mr. Godwin should commit the very faults he reprobates, namely, those of contradiction, and absurdity.

That the population in 1339, could not exceed 2,500,000, is as well established as any fact of history can be. If it did not decrease from that period, to the accession of Henry VII.; if the power to increase was such, as to sustain the number of people, notwithstanding the adverse circumstances of that disastrous period; the same power must have increased the number of people under the Tudors to the utmost extent the accumulation

of capital, employed according to the notions which prevailed at that time, would permit. There is reason to believe that the accumulation of capital, and the increase of people, when compared with later times, went on but slowly, but in comparison with former times, the increase must have been rapid.

No doubt can remain in the mind of any man, who will take the trouble to enquire, and who has not an hypothesis to support, that whatever effect the turbulent times, from the accession of Edw. III. to that of Hen. VII. might have had on the population, that the number of people must have increased very much during the reign of the Tudors, and must have continued to increase during that of the Stuarts, although there were short periods when it decreased, and that at the Revolution it amounted to about 5,500,000; that it continued increasing until about the middle of the last century, when, from the better modes of employing capital, from the improvements in arts, commerce, and manufactures, and from the facility of better modes of conveyance — there was a more rapid accumulation of capital, and increase of people, than had ever before been known; and that great as was the increase of people, it was by no means so great as it would have been, under a better administration of the government, and a wiser disposition of capital.

But Mr. Godwin, as we have seen, denies that the population has at all increased; and he adds in p. 625., as the result of his reasoning, "Till human affairs shall be better and more auspiciously

conducted, than they have hitherto been *under the best governments, there will be no absolute increase in the numbers of mankind.*"

General as is the wording of this extract, the meaning must be, in any one country; for if under any government which has hitherto existed, mankind could have increased, so might the whole human race have increased, if placed under circumstances equally propitious. That this is its meaning, and that it is applicable to this country, is proved by the extracts which have been made; but even if government were ever so much better than the best with which we are acquainted, and if human affairs were conducted with any assignable increase of wisdom—still, Mr. Godwin is not satisfied that there could be any increase of people; for in p. 452., he expresses his doubt thus: "if war, and the other atrocious follies of society were abolished, we should have reason to expect, that if the numbers of mankind were not enlarged, at least they would not then decrease." Yet, in p. 625., he says, "there is in man, absolutely speaking, a power of increasing the number of his species," and in his "Enquiry concerning Political Justice," he says, "There is a principle in human society, by which population is perpetually kept down to the level of the means of subsistence."*

"When England," says Mr. Chalmers, "was a country of shepherds and warriors, we beheld them inconsiderable in numbers. When manufactures found their way into the country, when

* Vol. ii. p. 466. 3d Edition.

husbandmen gradually acquired greater skill, and when the spirit of commerce actuated all, people, we have seen, grew out of the earth, amidst convulsions, famine, and warfare. He who compares the population of England and Wales, at the conquest, at the demise of Edward III., at the year 1588, with our population in 1688, must trace a vast progress in the intervening centuries. But England can scarcely be regarded as a manufacturing and commercial country, at the revolution, when contrasted with her present prosperity* in manufactures and trade. The theorist, then, who insists, that our numbers have thinned, as our employments have increased, and our population declined, as our agriculture and manufactures, our commerce and navigation, advanced, argues against facts, opposes experience, and shuts his eyes against daily observation."†

This conclusive reasoning was urged against the theory of Dr. Price, who maintained that the population was declining — and is equally conclusive against Mr. Godwin's hypothesis, that it has not increased during a period of nearly five hundred years.

The two enumerations of the people, the first in 1801 — the second in 1811 — although very deficient in particulars, are extremely valuable, in as much as they are a more exact account of the number of the people, than has ever before been obtained.

* 1810. † Comparative Estimate, p. 213.

The accounts, or rather abstracts of the accounts, sent from the parishes, were printed by order of the House of Commons. To the last of these accounts was prefixed, "Preliminary Observations, by Mr. Rickman." By the two returns, it appears, that the population amounted

In 1811, to	12,596,803
... 1801	10,942,646
Shewing an increase of.....	1,654,157

But by comparing the baptisms and deaths, as given by the parish registers, Mr. Rickman found, that—"the increase fell considerably short of the increase, as shewn by the two enumerations, it being only 928,717,"—and he observes, "that since the registry of baptisms is much more deficient than that of burials; and as it does not seem possible to ascertain by direct evidence, in what degree one deficiency exceeds the other, recourse must be had to probabilities, founded on analogies and general principles."*

Mr. Malthus supposes, reasonably enough, that the enumeration of 1801, was somewhat below the truth. The reasons are obvious, and could not escape Mr. Godwin's notice; he mentions the apprehension of being taxed, or drawn for the militia, or the fear of conscription for the army, as reasons which would deter many, on being first questioned, from stating the whole number. No

* Preliminary Observations to the Parliamentary account of the population in 1811, fol. xxvi.

doubt, those considerations had some effect on the returns, but the number thus concealed was probably not a large one. Where they did operate, it must have been to conceal the able-bodied men; and had the number concealed been very large, the number of females would have greatly exceeded that of the males, which was not the case, the excess of females in England, Wales, and Scotland, being only 42,062. Yet, Mr. Godwin says, "It is very conceivable, that there was not one human creature more in the country, in 1811, than in 1801." Mr. Godwin thinks it probable, and all his reasonings are calculated to persuade his readers to believe, that the concealment of persons in 1801, amounted to nearly one in nine of all the men, women, and children, in Great Britain; to nearly one half of all the males, between twenty and sixty years of age, including those embodied in the army and militia, and those serving in the navy, and considerably more than half of all the males between those ages, if those thus serving be deducted. This supposition might be thought sufficiently absurd, but a much greater absurdity follows:

The number of inhabited houses were, by the Parliamentary returns in

1811, stated at	2,101,597
1801, ...	1,870,476
Increase of houses.....	231,121

The causes which have been noticed, as tending in some degree to make the returns in 1801 rather

lower than they ought to have been, can none of them be assigned for the concealment of houses; and yet to make Mr. Godwin's argument worth any thing, upwards of 200,000 houses must have been concealed. The population must either have resided in 231,121 houses less in 1801 than in 1811, or that number of houses must have been omitted in the return. Having rejected all former accounts of the population, he says, "I shall refer myself, therefore, only to the actual enumerations of 1801 and 1811. There the enquiry was directed to the clergyman or overseer in each parish, who could *hardly be conceived to have any temptation to conceal the number of houses in his district; to which I may add, that a house is a sort of commodity not easily hid.*"* Thus we have Mr. Godwin's own testimony for the correctness of the return of houses at both periods. He tells us plainly, that there was no concealment of houses, and this confession is fatal to his hypothesis.

Mr. Rickman† found that the increase of people from 1801 to 1811, was 1,654,157, according to the actual returns, but by the parish registers only 928,717. This, of itself, was a corroborative proof of increase of great value. As, however, the parish registers were defective, Mr. Rickman took some pains to show in what they were defective, and reasonably concluded that the increase was greater than by those registers it

* Reply, p. 225.

† Preliminary Observations to Parliamentary Returns.

appeared to be. In fol. xxiv. is a table of proportions of baptisms to marriages, from the parish registers. This was seized upon by Mr. Godwin, who, although he rejected all the statements and opinions on which Mr. Rickman appears to have relied, and although he treated the whole of that gentleman's labours with unmerited contempt, yet he inserted the proportional table in his book *, and in the way in which he introduced it, left his readers to infer, that it was a document the accuracy of which was unquestionable and conclusive. "From whence," he says, "it appears, that the average proportion of *births* to marriages in England and Wales, during this period, (1760, to 1810,) has been about *thirty-five to ten.*"† Mr. Rickman said nothing about *births*; he spoke only of the baptisms. The very purpose of the table was directly the reverse of that for which Mr. Godwin used it; it was inserted merely as a step in the process to ascertain the increase of people. Mr. Rickman says, "The marriages of Dissenters of every denomination, takes place in the established church; excepting those among Quakers, who are permitted to marry in their own congregation. To these may be added the Jews, who marry according to their own ceremonial. But neither of these sects are numerous: and with these exceptions, the marriage registry of England and Wales, may be deemed complete and unexceptionable."‡ Not so the baptismal registers; many

* Reply, p. 203. † Ib. p. 204. ‡ Prelim. Ob. fol. xxi.

causes of incorrectness are mentioned by Mr. Rickman*; among others, that many Dissenters baptise after their own manner, or not at all. Private, or half baptisms, as they are called, are stated to be very numerous, while the number of unentered baptisms amount to a large number. "The *baptisms* being in reality as *forty-two, to ten marriages*†;" which is four one-twentieth children baptised to a marriage. Of all this Mr. Godwin takes no notice; he seems resolved that there shall be no increase of people, and he, therefore, omits what makes against him. He has neither treated the compiler of the "Preliminary Observations‡," nor the subject, fairly.

* Prelim. Ob. fol. xxiii. † Ib. xxvi.

‡ The preliminary observations to the population returns of 1811, contain many curious and useful remarks; one paragraph, which is in itself a proof of the increase of people in England, shall be here inserted.

"The division of the southern parts of England into hundreds, is unquestionably of Saxon origin, and probably in imitation of similiar districts, which existed in their parent country, but in what manner the name was applied is not certain. At least one hundred, (which in Saxon numeration means one hundred and twenty,) free men, householders, answerable for each other, may be supposed originally to have been found in each hundred; for that the hundreds were originally regulated by the population, is evident from the great number of hundreds in the counties first settled by the Saxons. Thus *Kent* and *Sussex*, at the time when Domesday Book was compiled, *each contained more than sixty hundreds*, as they do at present. In *Lancashire*, a county of greater area than either, there are *no more than six hundreds*.—In *Cheshire* seven; and upon the whole, so irregular is this distribution of territory, that while several hundreds do not exceed a square

In speaking of the Swedish tables, Mr. Godwin says, "It fully appears from the tables, that the births are scarcely more than four to a marriage." * Yet he admits that Sweden increased its population nearly one-half, in fifty-four years. It has been proved, with respect to Sweden, that these fifty-four years were much more inimical to an increase of population than were those in England, in the period of which we are now treating. It should also be observed, that it is the *baptisms*, and not the *births*, which are stated by Mr. Rickman at forty-two to ten marriages, while in Sweden, the births are inserted in the tables, among which, even the still-born children are included, and they, it appears, are one in every sixty-eight of the whole number born. In Sweden, half of all the born die under twenty years of age; while, in London, it appears from the bills of mortality †, that the number of burials under twenty does not greatly exceed one-third of the baptisms, and if the births, instead of the baptisms, were inserted, it may be believed, that the actual number of deaths under

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mile in area, nor one thousand persons in population, the hundreds in Lancashire average at three hundred square miles of area, and the population contained in one of them, (Salford Hundred) is above 250,000. Fol. xi."

In 1801, the population of Sussex was ..... 190,083.
——————— of Lancashire ..... 828,309.

* Reply, p. 185.

† The bills of mortality do not contain an exact account of the births and deaths in the metropolis, but the proportion of deaths to baptisms is not probably very inaccurate.

twenty years of age, would not exceed one-third of the births. Hence follow two most important causes of a more rapid increase of people in England, than in Sweden, which nevertheless increased its population nearly one-half in about fifty-two years.

1. Marriages more fruitful.

2. A considerably less mortality in those under twenty years of age, even in the metropolis, than in the whole of Sweden.

Thus is the increase fully accounted for, and Mr. Godwin's arguments must fall to the ground.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE DECREASE OF MORTALITY IN ENGLAND.

It was necessary to Mr. Godwin's hypothesis, that neither the number of children born should be increased, nor the country become more salubrious, and that the means of preserving the people, and particularly the children, from premature death, should not be more efficient than they had formerly been. Yet he quarrels with the doctrine of Mr. Malthus, which he calls atrocious, as tending to prevent the birth of millions on millions of beings, capable of the highest intellectual enjoyment. He is very indignant at hearing Mr. Malthus say, that vice and misery keep down the population to the means of subsistence, against which it is constantly pressing, and then he tells us, that "by the constitution and course of nature, half the children born must die in their non-age." He says, that the births in Europe do not exceed four to a marriage, and that in this country they are four to every marriageable woman; of these nature *must* and will kill two, according to her own method, in their non-age, and the other two *must* remain to replace their parents. It is, or at least it might be supposed, that those whom nature slays in their childhood, die of some disease, and conse-

quently of misery; and it does seem rather strange, that if nature so resolutely and constantly kills half the born, that vice and misery should kill none; and yet, according to Mr. Godwin, it is so, for he sees no misery in the case of those who die by nature's hand, and he says it is atrocious and heart-appalling, to assert, that vice and misery are the causes. Such is Mr. Godwin's logic, such his philosophy. All this, however, sounds very oddly, from a man who has taken great pains to inculcate the belief of a constant, and considerable improvement in the moral and physical state of mankind, which he has hinted may, at some future time, totally eradicate all disease whatever.

Mr. Godwin says, "I had heard before of the improving salubrity of London, in consequence of its widened streets, and better arrangement of its buildings. But that, the whole climate from the Lands End, in Cornwall, to Berwick-upon-Tweed, should have improved, is, I confess, new to me."*

All that Mr. Godwin can bring himself to say, with respect to the metropolis, is, that he "had heard"—and he denies, by implication, an increased value of life in other parts of the country. But surely no one besides himself will doubt, whether London was more healthy in the 18th than in the 17th century, or that it is more healthy now than it was in 1700, in 1750, or even in 1800. No doubt can remain in the mind of any candid enquirer, that the salubrity of London has, upon the whole, gone on increasing for more than a century

* Reply, p. 227.

past, although some years have been more fatal than others. In the first sixty-five years of the 17th century, the plague raged no less than four times, and its devastations are recorded in the bills of mortality, as follows, viz.

In 1603	deaths by plague,	36,269
... 1625	.....	35,417
... 1636	.....	10,400
... 1665	.....	68,596

The bills of mortality exhibit only three years free from plague, from 1603 to 1665, the last time it appeared in this country. It was not so, however, with all other epidemical and contagious disorders.

Dr. Heberden has given an interesting account of those disorders, and has proved the increased salubrity of London and other towns, and tracts of country. The writer in Rees' Cyclopedia, Art. HEALTH, has among other judicious observations respecting the metropolis, the following: "Epidemics, although somewhat diminished in number, still occurred to a great and fatal extent: so that, in proportion to the actual population, the annual mortality was exceedingly great.

"This will appear in strong colours, when it is stated, that the actual mortality was greater at the beginning of the 18th century, than at the end of it, notwithstanding the great increase both in number and extent of the out-parishes, included in the bills of mortality. The annual average of deaths in the first ten years of the century being upwards of 20,000, in the last decade of years only 19,000 and upwards. The mortality and quan-

tity of disease, in proportion to the population, was incalculably greater, at the commencement than at the close of the century.

"The principal amelioration in the health of the metropolis, however, seems to have been more particularly brought about within the last sixty years. Until nearly the middle of the last century, mortality kept pace, in some measure, with the increasing population; for in the third and fourth decades, that is from 1720 to 1740, the annual average of burials was from 26,000 to 28,000."

During the last twenty years, the number of houses and of people within the bills of mortality have been prodigiously increased, yet the burials, according to the yearly bills, average less than 19,000.

In the latter half of the seventeenth century, the dysentery caused the death of 2000 persons annually in the metropolis; its prevalence gradually decreased during the last century, and the disease itself is now almost extinguished as a fatal disease. Only fifteen are stated to have died of it in the year 1820.

In 1722, inoculation for the small-pox was introduced, and from the enquiries to which the disputes respecting its efficacy gave rise, and which continued for upwards of thirty years impeding its beneficial effects, it was found, that, of those who took the disease in the natural way, nearly one in six died. The ague, too, had its victims in large numbers. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, nearly one in forty, of those who were buried in London, are stated to

have died of this disorder, which is now but seldom heard of, and kills nobody. Even those counties, where it was most prevalent and most fatal, are comparatively free from it, it being confined to much smaller spaces, and, from increase of knowledge as to the mode of treating it, it has become much less destructive, in those places.

The only fatal disease which seems to have much increased in London, is consumption; but all other diseases which used to be most destructive to persons in their non-age, have declined. From a careful examination of the bills of mortality, it appears that there has been a great *increase in the value of life* * since the middle of the last century; considerably more than half the number of burials at the commencement of the series being under twenty years of age, and considerably less than half of the burials being under twenty years of age at the end of it.

In the 10 years from 1750 to 1760, the whole number of burials was	205,279	being 7249	more under than above 20 years of age.
Of which, under 20 years of age	106,264		
From 1761 to 1770	234,407	being 3519	
Under 20 years of age	118,963		
From 1771 to 1780	214,605	being 9661	
Under 20 years of age	112,133		

* This has been affirmed to me as applicable to the whole of the towns, "from the Land's End in Cornwall to Berwick upon Tweed," by the actuaries at some of the principal life insurance offices in the metropolis.

From this period, the proportion of those who died under twenty years of age was less than half the whole number buried, the proportionate number of those dying under twenty decreasing in every ten succeeding years.

From 1781 to 1790, the whole number of burials was	192,690	being 338	less under than above 20 years of age.
Of which, under 20 years of age	96,126		
From 1791 to 1800	196,801	being 593	
Under 20 years of age	98,104		
From 1801 to 1810	188,842	being 8048	
Under 20 years of age	90,397		
From 1811 to 1820	190,568	being 18,660	
Under 20 years of age	85,954		

The difference is considerable, and proves a very rapid increase in the value of life within the last fifty years; the difference in favour of the last ten years of the series, being no less than 25,909 above the first ten years of the series. By the summary of the baptisms and burials appended to the population returns for 1811, it appears, that the mortality in the metropolis in 1700 was as one in twenty-five, in 1750 as one in twenty-one, in 1801 and the four preceeding years, as one in thirty five, and from that period to 1811, as one in thirty-eight. Much of this is attributable to the increased salubrity of the metropolis, much to the increase of surgical and medical knowledge, much

also to the change that has taken place, not only in London, but all over the country, in the habits of the working classes, who are infinitely more moral, more sober, more cleanly in their persons and their dwellings, than they were formerly, particularly the women; partly from the success of the cotton manufactures, which has enabled them to discard the woollen clothes which were universally worn by them, which lasted for years, and were seldom, if ever washed; partly from increased knowledge in domestic concerns, and the nursing and general management of children. Notwithstanding the vice, the misery, and the disease which still abounds in London, its general prevalence has been greatly diminished.

Mr. Godwin cannot but remember the vast number of rickety, crooked-legged, scald-headed children, who used to run about the streets of the metropolis; whereas it is now by no means common, to see such children, even in the very poorest neighbourhood. Of this any one may satisfy himself, by visiting the parish, the National, and the Lancasterian schools, in several of which hundreds of children may be inspected at one visit. Within the memory of many persons, the habits of the working people, and of the master tradesmen even, were exceedingly dissolute, when compared with what they are now. Public-house parlours, and what are called "free and easy," or "chair clubs," were very numerous. At these clubs, some one took the chair at a fixed time in the evening, and whoever pleased attended the meeting, upon paying the price

of a pot of beer, sixpence, or a shilling, for which they received liquor to the amount of the money paid. To many of these women were admitted, and then they were called "*cock and hen clubs.*" Drinking, swearing, and singing obscene songs, were the regular amusements; and it was by no means uncommon for the master and his apprentice to smoke their pipes in these clubs at the same table. The remains of these nurseries of every thing infamous, are now only to be found among the outcasts of society, and even among them they are by no means common.

Scarcely thirty years ago, there were in the environs of London no less than twenty-seven places of public resort, in which all sorts of vicious conduct were carried to an excess, of which by far the greater part of the present generation can form no conception. No one such place is now in existence; and it is a remarkable circumstance, that all the attempts which have been made within a few years to revive them, have wholly failed.*

The change in the habits of the people, caused, as it has been, by their being better informed, has not been confined to the metropolis, but has spread all over the country; and, when taken into consideration with the other circumstances which have been mentioned, will be found to be no inefficient causes of an increase of the population; and had food been provided for a still larger

* Much curious matter relating to the habits of the people within the last fifty years has been collected, and may possibly be some day laid before the public.

number, that number would have been supplied. Mr. Malthus has observed, that "the removal of any particular causes of mortality, can have no further effect upon population than the means of subsistence will allow*;" and that the "increase of salubrity in London could not have existed, if the causes thereof had not been accompanied by the preventive check."† In speaking of the mortality occasioned by different diseases, he says, "That as all that are born above a certain number must die, if old diseases are exterminated, other diseases will be generated, or those in existence will become more fatal. If, for instance, the cow-pox should exterminate the small-pox, and yet the (proportionate) number of marriages continue the same, we shall find a very perceptible difference in the increased mortality of some other diseases. Nothing could prevent this effect but a sudden start in our agriculture, and if this should take place, it will not be so much owing to the number of children saved by the cow-pox inoculation, as the alarm occasioned by the late scarcities." To this passage Mr. Malthus, in his last edition, adds a note, as follows: "The start here alluded to, certainly took place from 1801 to 1814, and provision was really made for the diminished mortality."‡ This doctrine is perfectly sound, and the facts are incontrovertible.

Mr. Malthus observes, that "marriages in England are later than in France, the natural conse-

* Essay, vol. iii. p. 133. † Ib. p. 134.
‡ Ib. p. 137.

quence of that prudence and respectability generated by a better government; and can we doubt that good has been the result? The marriages in this country are now later than they were before the revolution, (he means of 1688,) and I feel firmly persuaded, that the increased healthiness observed of late, could not possibly have taken place without the accompanying circumstance." *

Mr. Malthus has here attributed too much to the government; it is one of his general, sweeping, indiscriminating clauses which discredit his work. The prudence and respectability of which he speaks, although it could not have increased in a much worse governed country than this, has, in the present instance, been more owing to the exertions of the people in the middle rank of society than to the government, which cannot be said to have done any thing in this respect for the people. Nor is this to be wondered at. In its very nature it is capable of doing very little absolute good, while, by its intermeddling in all the concerns of the people, it is continually producing evil.

"A diligent inquirer after truth," will, however, find reason enough to be satisfied with the rest of the passage quoted; it led me to enquire respecting the married and unmarried grown-up daughters in *all* the families with which I am sufficiently acquainted, to be able to ascertain their ages. Those families are all in the middle rank of life; tradesmen, merchants, bankers, and professional

* Essay, vol. iii. p. 361.

men, and the result is as follows. The number of families is twenty-two, and in all that number there is no instance of any female having been married under her twentieth year. They may be classed thus :—

MARRIED.		UNMARRIED.		TOTAL.	
Under 25	Above 25	Between 20 and 25	Above 25	Married.....14	Both...56
9	5	15	27	Unmarried 42	

Mr. Malthus has inferred from the returns to the population acts, that the number of marriages has decreased proportionally as the population has increased; that the births to marriages have also decreased, and yet that the population has increased. A superficial observer, or a mere practical calculator, would, probably, have been led by these circumstances to infer, that the population had declined. Dr. Price, for example, would have been sure to have made this mistake, and we need not be surprised that other persons should have come to the same conclusion. Mr. Malthus has, however, very truly inferred, that the increase of the salubrity of towns, and the increased value of life, is attributable, in no small degree, to these circumstances.

Dr. Heberden has adduced several circumstances which prove, that the country is generally more salubrious than formerly; he says, "The

cause of so great an alteration in the health of the people of England, I have no hesitation in attributing to the improvements which have gradually taken place, not only in London, but in all great towns, and in the manner of living throughout the kingdom, particularly to cleanliness and ventilation." *

These are consolatory circumstances, and an earnest, that, with due care, some, or all of the preventive checks may, in time, be found efficient. That the population may be kept rather below than above the means of subsistence, and the demand for labour, that poverty and misery, vice and crime may be removed, to an extent which scarcely any one would, at present, venture to predict.

* Observations on the increase and decrease of different diseases, by W. Heberden, M.D. F.R.S. 1801. 4to. p. 35.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL, AS IT CONDUCES TO THE WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE.—CONSEQUENCES OF INCREASING THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE MORE RAPIDLY THAN CAPITAL INCREASES. — SPADE CULTIVATION. — DOES POPULATION PRESS AGAINST THE MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE? — EXAMPLE, IRELAND. — INCREASE OF PEOPLE. — LOW WAGES. — IGNORANCE.—DISEASE.

When the population of any country increases, one of two things invariably takes place; either a proportional increase of capital as fast as that of the people, or a deterioration in the circumstances of the great body of the people. Many excellent remarks on these circumstances may be found in Mr. Malthus's chapter on the agricultural system.*

Capital consists of things accumulated—the savings from labour, which again furnish the means of employment. It is clear, that if every thing were consumed as fast as it was produced, without any reproduction, there could be no accumulation and no increase of capital, every one would be obliged to produce the food necessary for his own subsistence, and mankind would be degraded to the lowest possible point.

* Essay, vol. ii. p. 321.

The author of the History of British India has, in another place*, stated the principles of population with admirable precision and clearness, and has shown the effects which could not fail to be produced, were we to adopt the spade cultivation, as recommended by Mr. Godwin, in the degradation of mankind.

"There can," he observes, "be no doubt, that, by increasing every year the proportion of the population which you employ in raising food, and diminishing every year the proportion employed in every thing else, you may go on increasing food as fast as population increases, till the labour of a man, added upon the land, is just sufficient to add as much to the produce as will maintain himself and raise a family. But if things were made to go on in such an order till they arrived at that pass, men would have food, but they would have nothing else. They would have neither clothes, nor houses, nor furniture. There would be nothing for elegance, nothing for ease, nothing for pleasure. There would be no class exempt from the necessity of perpetual labour, by whom knowledge might be cultivated, and discoveries useful to mankind might be made. There would be no physicians, no legislators. The human race would become a mere multitude of animals of a very low description, having just two functions, that of raising and that of consuming food." "What

* See the article Colony, in the Supp. to the Encyclopedia Britannica.

then," he asks, "are the best means of checking the progress of population when it cannot go on unrestrained without producing one of two most undesirable effects, either drawing an undue proportion of the population to the mere raising of food, or producing poverty and wretchedness;" and *this*, he observes, "*is*, indeed, *the most important practical problem to which the wisdom of the politician and moralist can be applied.* It has, till this time, been miserably evaded by all those who have meddled with the subject, as well as by all those who were called upon by their situation to find a remedy for the evils to which it relates. And yet, if the superstitions of the nursery were discarded, and the *principle of utility* kept steadily in view, a solution might not be difficult to be found, and the means of drying up one of the most copious sources of human evil a source which, if all other sources of evil were taken away, would alone suffice to retain the great mass of human beings in misery, might be seen to be neither doubtful nor difficult to be applied."

If population increase without a proportionate increase of capital, which we have seen it may do, the real wages of labour will fall. In course of time, the people will be reduced to extreme poverty and misery, and a stop will, by their means, be put to any further increase; in this state, a bad harvest or two will cause dearth or famine, and produce pestilential diseases. Ireland, unhappily, furnishes a melancholy proof of a people in the latter state. Even there, no doubt, capital was

accumulated, but at a much slower rate than the increase of the population required. There the people supported themselves by "the spade cultivation," and there the immediate consequence of the causes mentioned may be seen in the misery of the people, and the diseased state of the country, particularly in those parts where the increase of people had exceeded the accumulation of capital with the greatest rapidity.

No one who will take the trouble to enquire will doubt, that Ireland has added greatly to its population during the last 100 years. Mr. Newenham and Mr. Wakefield have, with great care and diligence, collected all that is known on this subject, and their researches go far towards proving a doubling in that country in less than half a century, and afford reasons for believing, that, at particular periods, it has increased at a much faster rate.

Those who, like Mr. Godwin, deny that population presses against the means of subsistence, have asked how, if there be a rapid increase of people, can they press at the same time against the means of subsistence. The answer is, that there is, in all old countries under these circumstances, an attempt to produce people faster than subsistence, and the consequence is, that there can be no rapid increase for any considerable length of time, it can only be occasional. Some contend, that it is the increase of people that causes the increase of food to be provided. No doubt this is sometimes the case, and perhaps al-

ways so to some extent, by keeping up the demand. But there is always an effort to produce as much food as possible, those concerned in producing it having a perpetual interest in increasing the quantity, except under some very peculiar circumstances — such as a plague, which has greatly reduced the population; but this, like the circumstance first mentioned, is an exception to the rule, not the rule itself. In Ireland, for instance, marriages are contracted at an early age, and the progeny is therefore large. The only restraint, and that is not, in many cases, found effective, is the want of a cabin and a potatoe garden. Once in possession of the cabin, the garden, and the girl, the Irishman sets himself and his wife to work to provide themselves with food; this they can almost always succeed in doing, but the surplus beyond mere feeding is worth so little, that it is seldom sufficient to enable them to purchase the most ordinary utensils, while the money they earn at daily labour is as seldom sufficient to enable them to pay their rent, and provide the miserable clothing to which their desires are limited. Thus they go on, until the increase of the family makes it impossible for them to provide food enough in ordinary seasons for the healthy support of themselves and their children, the old and the helpless. While this system continues, and while a rood of land capable of producing potatoes can be had, the population may continue to increase, and must remain in its present deplorable condition, ill fed, worse taught, ill clothed, idle, dirty, ragged, and

wretched in the extreme, constantly pressing against the means of subsistence, and occasionally cut down by disease.

It is apparent that food, even such food as the poor Irish are compelled to subsist upon, cannot be produced as rapidly as the increase of population requires, and that numbers are prematurely cut off. That here the increase of the people is not the cause of food being provided, for it is not provided. That early as are the marriages and numerous the progeny, there would yet be more marriages and more children, could every young man obtain possession of a cabin and a potatoe garden. Population always presses, and when the pressure becomes excessive, disease reduces the number of the people, population starts anew, and is again repressed; still, however, increasing in proportion to the increased quantity of land taken into cultivation, and to the quantity of food which spade cultivation will produce in ordinary seasons. Ireland furnishes proofs in refutation of every one of Mr. Godwin's positions, of Mr. Booth's dissertation, and of all the writers who have attempted to disprove the "the principle of population."

It is the same in every old-settled country, but its demonstration cannot so easily, so plainly, and in so short a space, be so satisfactorily explained. Mr. Malthus has, however, taken much pains to prove, and has succeeded in proving, that population constantly presses against the means of sub-

sistence in almost every country throughout the world.

Mr. Wakefield, among much highly useful and curious information respecting the population and condition of the poorer sort of people in Ireland, is of opinion that spade cultivation, as used in most parts of that country, for the purpose of producing potatoes, deteriorates the population in every respect; and where the potatoe constitutes the sole food, he observes that the size as well as the strength of the people is diminished. "One great drawback on potatoes, as food for the inhabitants of a country," he observes, "is, that in no crop is there a greater difference in good or bad years, as to the quantity produced. Two or three good years will create people, the redundancy of which population will be repressed by subsequent years of failure. But the evil is seldom traced to its real origin; the check for the moment shows itself in disease, arising from bad nourishment, and the loss occasioned is ascribed to the disease rather than to the cause by which it is produced." "Every one that knows Ireland is convinced, that years of scarcity in that country are very frequent, and these periods put an end to the false part of the population, if I may be allowed the expression, raised by years of plenty."*

Since Mr. Wakefield wrote, Ireland has been visited with two remarkably bad seasons in suc-

* Account of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 726.

cession, those of 1816 and 1817, the consequences of which were famine, disease, and death; no part of that unfortunate country was exempt from disease; but in the northern provinces, where the people were not wholly fed upon potatoes, but where meal and occasionally animal food made part of their diet, the fever was less general, and less destructive; but in those provinces where the people were almost wholly fed upon potatoes, the state of disease and misery was so truly horrid as to make one's blood run cold, while reading the accounts of the medical inspectors. In Feb. 1819, the Lord Lieutenant appointed a medical inspecter for each of the four provinces, who ascertained on the spot the state of the fever since 1816, and the condition of the people. The inspectors made written returns to a set of questions, ten in number, embracing all the most important points necessary to be ascertained.*

All the inspectors attribute the fever to bad and insufficient nourishment, *the potatoe crops having failed* in consequence of the extreme humidity of the two years before mentioned, *and there being nothing which could be resorted to as a substitute.*

They observe, that even the seed potatoes were taken up and eaten as food; that nettles, and all other esculent herbs, with the coarsest bran, were eaten; that the people became feeble from

* These accounts were printed by order of the House of Commons on the 17th May, 1819.

want of food; that their extreme wretchedness, and the despondency their miserable circumstances produced, fitted them to receive the fever; that they wandered about in masses, men, women, and children, knowing not where to go, nor what to do, and spreading disease and death on all sides. Medical assistants, and many of the officiating priests, caught the fever, some of whom died; and when temporary fever-houses had been prepared, it often happened that the greatest difficulty existed in procuring nurses.

In some places, when a person was seized with the fever, such was the dread of contagion, that the sufferer was removed to a barn or outhouse, where a sort of bed having been prepared, the patient was locked in, and food and medicine handed through a hole made for the purpose in the wall: here, if able to assist himself, and to live in his own filth, until some time after the disease had subsided, he was released; if unable to assist himself, he perished.

When a stranger, or labourer who had no cabin of his own, took the disease, it was *quite customary* to prepare a shed for him by the road side, by inclining some spars or sticks against a wall or bank of a ditch, and covering them with straw. Under these sheds, which the rain penetrated, the the patients lay on a little straw, and cruel as such treatment may appear, such was the malignant nature of the disease, that fewer died in those sheds than in the wretched mud cabins. Imagination can scarcely picture a more horrid

state than that of the great mass of the population of Ireland in the years 1817, 1818, and part of 1819.

It was remarked by the inspectors, that the population had been rapidly increasing; with their increase came increase of poverty, and being reduced to the lowest possible state of existence, failure in the crop of potatoes produced famine,—famine, disease, and death reduced the population to the number which could be maintained in ordinary years by the spade cultivation of potatoes. It is perfectly clear, that while this system continues, and while the people remain ignorant of the radical cause of their misery, the same course will be pursued, and the same consequences will follow; yet Mr. Godwin denies, that population presses against the means of subsistence.

One circumstance deserves to be noticed, very few comparatively of the rich were afflicted with the fever; and in places where the soldiers were kept in their barracks, well fed, well clothed and lodged in dry apartments, they were wholly free from the fever which raged around them.

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUSION.

MR. GODWIN'S REPUGNANCE TO THE SCIENCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.—THE DOCTRINES INCULCATED IN THIS WORK CANNOT BE PROMOTED, NOR THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE BE MATERIALLY AND PERMANENTLY IMPROVED, WITHOUT A COMPETENT KNOWLEDGE OF THE SCIENCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

MR. Godwin says, "The Enquiry into the Wealth of Nations is not a book much to my taste. It is very proper that such subjects should be discussed, but I own there is something in the discussions that makes me feel, while engaged in them, a painful contraction of the heart."* Every man who greatly desires the well-being of his species, and indulges in speculations on his future intellectual progress, has no doubt felt the repugnance which Mr. Godwin has mentioned, at finding himself compelled to abandon, as it were, the notions he would fain indulge without alloy; and to descend to calculations and comparisons of losses and gains, of trade, commerce, and manufactures, of the nature of rent, profit, and wages, the accumulation of capital, and the operation of taxes,

* Reply, p. 611.

But he who would essentially serve mankind, has no choice; he must submit himself patiently to the pain he cannot avoid without abandoning his duty. Mr. Godwin did this; he submitted patiently, and he pursued his course perseveringly, until he had produced his Enquiry concerning Political Justice; until he had published three editions, and is, as I have reason to know, not wholly disinclined to prepare a fourth edition of that work.

But he cannot bring himself to the same state of mind in respect to the science of Political Economy. The reasons are obvious; Mr. Godwin thinks, 1st, political economy is at variance with his doctrines, which he may be assured it is not, so far as those doctrines are really sound. 2. He does not at all comprehend its vast importance to the community. It is, however, impossible that the political condition of the people can be greatly improved by those who do not themselves possess a competent knowledge of this, "the latest discovered science." If it were true, that "mankind have not the power to increase their number, or if they have the power, that it can operate but slowly,—if there were more reason to fear a decrease, than to expect an increase of mankind," as Mr. Godwin represents, he might congratulate himself on the near approach of the accomplishment of some of his speculations, since the most material obstacle would be removed, and all the necessaries, and as many of the luxuries of life as he pleased, might soon be had in great abundance.

But if the tendency of mankind to increase be great, if the actual increase be more rapid than the accumulation of capital, nothing can save the community from distress; and the same effect will be produced, if capital decrease, while the population remain stationary. It is not, however, intended to be insinuated that a more judicious use could not be made of the capital of this or of any other country. Here, at least, it might be so used as to afford to every person in the country the means of rational enjoyment for a moderate portion of labour. But to effect this salutary change, it would be necessary that the whole community should possess a considerable portion of the knowledge Mr. Godwin is recommended to acquire.

Looking then at man, not as Mr. Godwin accuses Mr. Malthus and his followers of looking at him, as a mere brutal machine, but as an intellectual being, a light in which Mr. Godwin is very properly fond of placing him, it may safely be concluded, that were Mr. Godwin well instructed in the principles of political economy, he would be one of the most zealous, as well as one of the most useful supporters of the doctrines he has taken so much pains to condemn.

APPENDIX, No. I.

ON THE EXTENT OF THE UNITED STATES—AND OF THE NUMBER OF STATES AND TERRITORIES AT THE TAKING OF THE SEVERAL CENSUSES OF THE PEOPLE IN 1790, 1800, AND 1810.

THE territorial possessions of the United States, as settled by the Treaty of Peace in 1783, were bounded on the east by the Atlantic Ocean; on the north by the British possessions; on the west by the Mississippi River; and on the south by the thirty-first degree of north latitude, which separated them from East and West Florida.

At the peace of 1783, that part of the territory which was best peopled, was formed into thirteen states, designated by the following names: viz.

1. New Hampshire.
2. Massachusett's Bay.
3. Rhode Island.
4. Connecticut.
5. New York.
6. New Jersey.
7. Pennsylvania.
8. Delaware.
9. Maryland.
10. Virginia.
11. North Carolina.
12. South Carolina.
13. Georgia.

All the land not included in these States, was called the Western territory.

By an ordinance of Congress made on the 13th of July, 1787, all the land lying east of the Mississippi, and north of the Ohio rivers, called the North Western territory, was directed to be divided into not less than three, nor more

than five districts, or separate territories, since called by the names of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and the North Western territory. By the same ordinance, it was settled that as soon as there should be 5,000 free male inhabitants upwards of twenty-one years of age, in any of the territories or districts, they should elect, from among themselves, a number of persons to form a representative assembly of the territory; and this assembly was directed to elect one person as a representative in Congress, who was to be allowed to debate, but not to vote. It also directed, that when any of the territories had 60,000 free inhabitants, they should have the right of constituting their territory a state, and of being represented in Congress, on an equal footing with the original states, in all respects whatever.

By the fourth clause of the second section of the first article of the constitution of the United States, ratified on the 17th of September, 1787, it was ordained that an actual enumeration of the inhabitants should be made within three years, after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States; and within every subsequent ten years, in such manner as the law shall direct. The first Congress met on the 4th of March, 1789, and in 1791, the first census, or enumeration was taken; the second census was taken in 1801; and the third in 1811. These have been called the censuses of 1790, 1800, and 1810.

By act of Congress, Dec. 6, 1790, a district which had formerly been claimed both by the state of New York and the state of New Hampshire, was constituted a separate state under the name of Vermont.

A district westward of the state of Virginia had been settled some years earlier, under the name of Kentucky. In 1785, the inhabitants were desirous to be admitted into the union as a separate state, but in consequence of some disputes with Virginia, respecting the right of territory, it was not admitted as a separate state until the year 1799.

It had, however, formed a constitution for itself in 1792, and was in most respects considered a separate state. This state extends along the south bank of the Ohio to the Mississippi.

In the census of 1790, the states of Vermont and Kentucky are named as separate states, making fifteen states. All the land not formed into states, is designated in this census by the title Western territory.

The lands lying south of Kentucky were claimed by the Carolinas, and by Georgia; but these claims having been relinquished, a state was formed south of Kentucky, and admitted into the union in 1796, under the name of Tenassee.

The country south of Tenassee, and west of Georgia, was called the Mississippi territory. These divisions of territory are recognized in the census of 1800. The territory of Indiana was also settled, and admitted as a separate territory, as was also a portion of the states of Maryland and Virginia, which those states ceded for the purpose of forming a territory for the permanent seat of government, of which the city of Washington is the capital. This state is recognized in the census of 1800, by the name of the district of Columbia. With these additions, these states and territories amounted to twenty.

In 1802, the district of Ohio established itself, and was admitted as a separate state, into the Union. Michigan and Illinois soon afterwards became separate territories, and are so recognized in the census of 1810, making the number of states and territories at that time, within the boundaries of the United States, twenty-three.

But besides these states and territories, two others were added in 1803, by the names of Louisiana and Orleans, making the whole number twenty-five.

These two territories were settled by the French and Spaniards; and after changing masters several times, were in 1800 ceded by Spain to France; and in 1803, by France to the United States. As these states made no

part of the territories of the United States in 1790, the population they contained when ceded in 1803, was an addition to the population of the United States, equal to the arrival of the same number of emigrants. By the census of 1810, it appears that the number of free white inhabitants in these territories was 51,538. How many of these had emigrated from the United States, from the time the country was ceded to the taking of the census in 1811, I have no means of ascertaining; but it is not material since if the whole number as it was found in 1811, be deducted from the population of the United States, it will in no way affect the calculations and estimates in the body of the work.

This Appendix appeared to me to be called for by the vague and erroneous notions which I have found to prevail, respecting the geography of the United States, the territories which have been added to them, and the accession of people thus acquired.

APPENDIX, No. II.

ON THE NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS FROM THE BRITISH ISLANDS TO THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

Mr. Godwin and Mr. Booth have both of them applied the Swedish population tables to this country, and to the Anglo-American States, and have argued therefrom, that there has been no increase of people in this country for several ages; and that in the United States the people do not from procreation keep up their numbers. Both admit the increase of the population in the United States, and both affirm, that it has been wholly caused by immigration. Neither of them appear to have been aware of the dilemma into which their statements and assertions would necessarily lead them. Yet one of two circumstances, either of which is totally destructive of their hypothesis, must follow from their premises.

If the increase in the American population has been wholly occasioned by emigration, the population in those countries whence the emigrants proceeded, must have been decreased by at the least as large a number as America received; or if the population in those countries has not decreased, the number which emigrated has been supplied by procreation, and thus its power is proved in those countries.

If America has not increased its population materially by emigration, then the power of procreation is proved

there; so that in either case, the theory of Mr. Godwin and Mr. Booth falls to the ground.

By the American census for 1790, it appears that the number of free persons in the United States was	3,223,629	
By the census of 1810	6,048,539	
Giving an increase in twenty years of		2,825,910
The census now taking will, it is supposed, even by Mr. Godwin, show a total population of	10,000,000	
If from this number we deduct the slave population as it stood in 1810	1,191,364*	
The number of the free population will be	8,808,636	
Which gives for the increase of the free population, in the ten years between 1810 and 1820,		2,760,097
Being a total increase in thirty years of		5,586,007

On the statement then of Mr. Godwin and Mr. Booth that the increase has been wholly occasioned by emigration, if we take the emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland at two thirds†, and the emigration from other countries at one third, the British islands must have furnished 3,724,005. If *half* of the emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland were, as Mr. Godwin endeavours to persuade us they were, young women, we should have lost no less than 1,862,002 of our best breeders, of that part of the population by which alone the number of the people could be maintained. But, says Mr. Godwin, "I have one exception:" It was not necessary for more than

* No slaves have been imported since the year 1810; and as Mr. Godwin assures us, that the free population does not from procreation maintain its number, he will not, it may be concluded, contend that the slave population has increased in number.

† It is probable that seven-eighths of the settlers in the United States went from these islands.

half the number to have gone, for as each female was a breeding woman, and was worth two of the ordinary run of the population, they would quadruple their own number, and double that of all the emigrants in the period named. But this is a fallacy which will not avail, for, on Mr. Godwin's own showing, if these picked women could quadruple their number in America, they would have done the same had they remained here, and consequently whatever number was gained by America, was lost to us.

If we take the population of the British islands in 1790 at 17,000,000*, which Mr. Godwin and Mr. Booth will both allow to be an outside number, and divide it by five, one in every five being according to Mr. Godwin a marriageable woman, the whole number of such women will be 3,400,000; and if from this number we deduct the female emigrants 1,862,002, there will remain only 1,537,998, considerably *less than half* the "teeming women" *necessary*, according to Mr. Godwin and Mr. Booth, to supply the waste of mortality, and *to keep the population from declining.*

These gentlemen, by their statements, suppose a loss of 3,724,005 of the prime members of the population, out of 17,000,000 in thirty years, which would reduce the number to 13,275,995. a number which by the census now taking will probably be found in Great Britain alone. But the number would be reduced much lower than by a mere subtraction of the number of emigrants it would appear to be; those emigrants being picked from the most valuable part of the community, and we have the assurance of Mr. Godwin, and Mr. Booth's tables, to prove that the people thus taken away could never be replaced. Mr. Godwin indeed says, "Wherever depopulation has once set up its standard,

* England and Scotland 12,500,000
Ireland..... 4,500,000
17,000,000

the evil goes on—wherever depopulation has operated to a great extent, and for a considerable length of time, I believe we shall never find that country resuming its preceding prosperity and populousness, unless by an actual planting and settling of a new race of inhabitants within its limits."* Yet here, according to him, depopulation has been going on rapidly for more than two centuries, and yet the population has been greatly increased. If it were true that the people in the United States were not able to keep up their numbers by procreation, the total amount of the immigrants must at every period of time have been at the least as great as the whole population. If from the present amount of the population, taking it at 10,000,000, we deduct for the slave population 2,000,000, and allow two thirds of the remaining 8,000,000 to represent the number of emigrants from the British islands, we shall have furnished nearly five and a half millions, and if to these be added the amount of the English population in the Canadas, in the East and West Indies, in New Holland, and in all other parts of the world, we must be supposed to have lost nearly, or perhaps quite 7,000,000 of people. Had this been the case, the population at home could by no possibility, on the system of Mr. Godwin and Mr. Booth, have been equal to half its present amount. The inferences to which the statements of Mr. Godwin and Mr. Booth lead, are equally numerous and absurd; but as they are all disproved by the actual population at home, and in the Anglo-American States, it does not seem necessary to push them any further.

* Reply, p. 308.

THE END.

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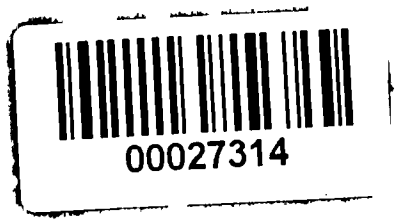
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